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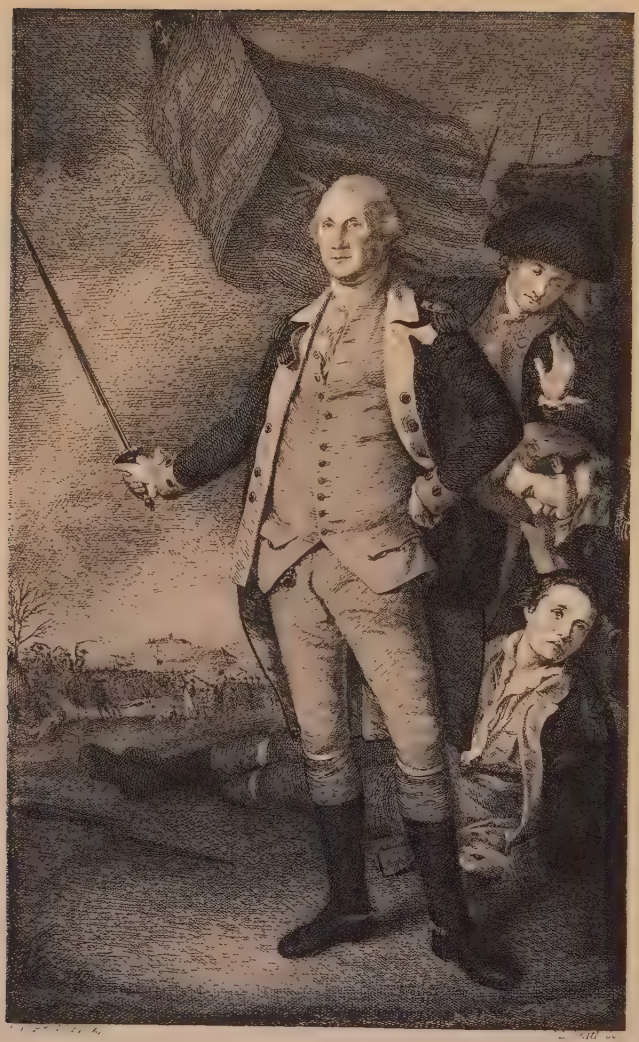

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AT PRINCETON

BY

VARNUM LANSING COLLINS

WITH A PORTRAIT OF GENERAL WASHINGTON

ENGRAVED BY SIDNEY L. SMITH

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TO

P. L. C.

PREFACE

THE Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line in June, 1783, and the resulting session of the Continental Congress at Princeton do not bulk large in a general survey of the American Revolution; and accordingly writers on that portion of American history have given scarcely more than passing mention to the incidents leading to the flight of Congress from Philadelphia, and almost without exception have dismissed the session at Princeton with few words. But, on the one hand, it would be difficult to find incidents more significant of the times than those which drove Congress from Philadelphia; while, on the other, many of the scenes witnessed at Princeton during the session of Congress were as memorable, and much of the legislation there enacted was as important, as any immediately succeeding the cessation of Revolutionary hostilities. The inside history, moreover, of the efforts made by the various States to influence, in the light of the mutiny, the great debate at Princeton on the federal residence question has never received detailed consideration. The present volume then is, in the first place, an attempt to arrive at a fuller knowledge of the Congressional history of the Summer and Autumn of 1783.

Any narrative of that history, however, if it aim at completeness must prove to be the chronicle of an admixture of work and play. For Congressional life at Princeton was so circumstanced by local conditions and Congressmen absorbed so readily the social and academic influences of the genial Jersey village whither they had betaken themselves, that the full story of their daily doings finds itself following a double thread. If the representatives

of the United States in Congress Assembled debated the weightier matters of the law in the morning, they also found time in the afternoon to attend the collegiate Fourth of July exercises; if they waxed eloquent over the Indian question on the 22d of September, two days later they sat mutely enough — and at least outwardly calm — through the long oratorical periods of an academic commencement programme. General Washington himself could, with Thomas Paine, turn from Congressional committee meetings to primitive experiments in natural philosophy; and His Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary from the Netherlands, once the formalities of his reception by Congress were over, found life in governmental circles at Princeton anything but overwhelmed by problems of international diplomacy. The second aim of this book then is to afford a glimpse of Congressional informal life when a Jersey college town was the national capital. And the peculiarly close relation between the two threads of the narrative has led me to hope that, although the merit of unity has to a certain extent been sacrificed, yet the value of an endeavor to contribute, however slightly, to the history of the period has not been altogether destroyed.

Much of the material used has been gathered from manuscript sources and in many cases recourse has also been had to the originals of the printed sources. Perhaps it is hardly necessary to say that quotations from the manuscripts invariably follow the originals in spelling and punctuation. The Journal of Congress is obviously the basis of the account of the formal proceedings at Princeton; but by searching the manuscript Papers of the Continental Congress and by examining all other contemporary relevant documents to which access has been gained, I have sought to add flesh to the Journal's bare bones. The sources of the other side of the story

are, it is believed, sufficiently indicated in the footnotes. Reference to the selected list of authorities printed in Appendix VI will explain abbreviated titles used in these footnotes.

The first five appendixes may seem to need justification. They contain unpublished material which appeared to be too valuable to discard entirely. Mr. Boudinot's accounts with a local merchant throw light on prevalent economic conditions in New Jersey, or at least one section of it; lists of citizens such as the signers of the two addresses to Congress have distinct local and genealogical value; and it seemed worth while to rescue from oblivion the memory of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Wren, of Portsmouth, England, whose honorary degree from Princeton was in direct recognition of his generous services to American Revolutionary prisoners and was conferred practically at the suggestion of Congress. The two Commencement orations are reprinted because of the unique occasion on which they were delivered, because of their frank allusion to the distinguished visitors who honored that occasion by their presence, and because incidentally they are characteristic examples of eighteenth century American college oratory.

My obligations are many. For their permission to avail myself of the collections which they administer I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, to Mr. Andrew H. Allen, late Superintendent of the Library of the State Department, Washington, D. C., and to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Librarian of the Lenox Library, New York City; and I would be ungrateful to forget that the late Dr. Gregory B. Keen permitted the use of certain manuscripts in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and that the officials of Harvard College Library and of the New York State Library at Albany have shown me many courtesies. To Mr. Worth-

ington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, are due my hearty thanks for proof-reading Appendixes II and III with the original documents when unadvoidable circumstances prevented my own performance of that irksome task; and I am particularly glad to acknowledge the valuable help given at various times by my friend and former colleague Mr. Wm. Warner Bishop, now Superintendent of the Reading Room, Library of Congress.

My chief general indebtedness however is to Mr. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, formerly of the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the State Department at Washington. To his intimate knowledge of the manuscripts of the Continental Congress so long under his curatorship, and now in the Library of Congress, to his ready and sympathetic interest and to his unfailingly generous and scholarly assistance I am under lasting obligations.

The painting of "Prospect," Colonel George Morgan's home at Princeton, now for the first time published, is owned by Mrs. Hughes Oliphant, of Washington, D. C. It is a pleasure to express my appreciation of her permission to use this interesting picture.

V. L. C.

Princeton, N. J.,
November 20, 1907.

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CHAPTER I

THE ARMY AND THE FURLOUGH ORDERS

On the afternoon of Sunday, March 23, 1783, the "Triomphe," a French sloop of war under command of Chevalier Duquesne, dropped anchor off Philadelphia after a seven weeks' voyage from Cadiz. She had been sent by the Marquis de Lafayette with a special dispatch to Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia. This letter of less than a hundred words contained, as Lafayette had hoped, the first authentic information received in America that a general treaty of peace had been signed and that the War of the Revolution was at an end.

The news was not unexpected; for, eleven days earlier, the packet "Washington" had arrived with dispatches announcing the signing of preliminary articles of peace by the representatives of Great Britain and the United States; and although some men, the Commander-in-Chief himself among them, feared that warfare was not yet over, nevertheless the conclusion of a general treaty was very confidently believed to be forthcoming.

Lafayette's communication was not official, but of its authoritativeness there could be no doubt; and in order that his "fellow citizens of the army" might receive "the earliest notice of this glorious end of all their Toils

and Labours,"[1] Mr Boudinot that Sunday evening hurried off a letter to General Washington, in camp with the main army at Newburgh on the Hudson, to put him in possession of the glad news that had sent a thrill of joy through the calm of a Quaker Sabbath.

Seldom, however, has such news been received by a battle-scarred army with less evident signs of satisfaction than this by the American troops at large. Not that peace was unwelcome; none knew better than the soldiers of the Revolution the real hardships of war. But to them the formal cessation of hostilities and the signing of a treaty of peace had a more serious import than merely the end of active military service, even though that meant to many the sweetness of return to home and family after years of absence and separation. They knew that Congress was anxious to rid itself of the expense of their maintenance; that furthermore American national sentiment — if any existed — was instinctively opposed to a standing army; and they realized that their speedy disbandment, the next logical step, was a foregone conclusion. Had their condition and temper been other than they were, disbandment would have been accepted as a natural sequel to the return of peace. But arrearages of years' standing in rations and clothing and many months' back pay were owing them. Promise after promise had been made and broken; month after month had gone by since Cornwallis was taken; the main army had returned north, and at Newburgh had gone into encampment; another long winter of discontent had been spent, and yet the settlement of the country's financial debt to the army seemed to be as far away as ever. The officers complained that shadows had been offered to them while the substance had been gleaned by others; they had borne all that men could bear; their property was gone, their

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 302.

private means exhausted, and their friends wearied with their incessant applications for relief; they had struggled with their difficulties year after year in the vain hope that each would be the last, and now their embarrassments were thickening so fast that many of them were able to go no further.[1] As for the rank and file — ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-shod — their uneasiness was notorious, and had become dangerous; their patience was so nearly spent that any further test of it might have instant fatal result. It mattered little whether their grievances were the result chiefly of neglect on the part of the States, or, as Washington believed and we know, were due to the intrinsic faultiness of the confederation under whose articles the States were associated. Disbandment stared them in the face, and they asked one another in vain how they would get their due when once disbanded. Soldiers who had retired from the army on the basis of half pay for life, offered by Congressional resolution of October, 1780, had become objects of obloquy, and public clamor had arisen against even this mode of settlement. The more the army had grumbled the more unpopular it had become; the lower it fell in public esteem the more desperate it grew.

The astute author of the Newburgh Addresses, Major John Armstrong, had fingered the pulse of his audience before he hinted at old age in poverty, wretchedness and contempt as the probable reward of a soldiery with no marks of military distinction save want, infirmities, and fears. Except on ethical grounds it is difficult to blame the feeling that the time seemed ripe for a demonstration which should compel the States to relieve a situation all the more galling because it was of their making. The people in general appeared to have no desire to help the army; Congress could not; and viewing matters

[1] Address of the officers to Congress, *Journal*, April 26th, 1783.

solely from the standpoint of the enlisted men there truly seemed to be nothing else to do. And such indeed had been the avowed purpose of the Newburgh Addresses. How Washington's tremendous personality turned the tables on that ominous occasion does not require repetition here. The story has been told a score of times. In response to his appeal, Congress on March 22d agreed to commute half-pay for life into full pay for five years. The next afternoon, Sunday the 23d, the "Triomphe" reached Philadelphia, and President Boudinot in his letter to Washington that night took the opportunity to inform him also of the Commutation Act.

The army heard the news in silence, and sullenly waited for the next step. The probability of disbandment without settlement had already made it difficult to maintain discipline, as Washington himself admitted,[1] and the fragmentary manner in which the intelligence of peace had reached the army only strengthened the suspicion that dispatches had from time to time been held back from the troops with a view to keeping them in service beyond their enlisted period. So strong was the feeling thus produced that, before publishing in camp the proclamation issued by Congress on April 11th announcing cessation of hostilities on land and sea, Washington called a full council of his officers to consider the advisability of suppressing the document, an action which would have been so impolitic that it is strange that he should have considered it. The council decided unanimously that it would be less risky to publish the proclamation; and accordingly Washington issued general orders that it be read in public the next day at noon. The orders bear marks of particularly careful composition; they remind the troops of their peculiarly honorable position as the patriot army, and of the important part they had played

[1] Washington to Boudinot, April 18th, Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 421.

in the struggle for independence, and they point out that now there remains to them as the "actors in this mighty scene" nothing but "to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause, and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which has crowned all their former actions."[1] After this rhetorical flight Washington closed his paragraph with the abrupt remark that, meanwhile, no military neglects or excesses would go unpunished as long as he retained command of the army. It was further ordered that an extra ration of liquor be issued to every man wherewith "to drink perpetual independence and happiness to the United States of America." One cannot help suspecting that the next day, when the soldiers gave three huzzas after the reading of the orders and the proclamation, it must have been a question in the minds of the bystanders whether the cheers were for the peace or for the rum. The further approbation of men and angels, however valuable in the abstract, would have been earned by the troops so much less perfunctorily had a little hard cash been distributed with the liquor.

Meanwhile at Philadelphia, on the 18th, in a determined effort to raise money Congress had proposed further taxation, and a week later, April 26th, issued an address to the States wherein was contained a direct appeal in behalf of the army. On May 2d Alexander Hamilton moved that inasmuch as it was the desire of Congress to enable officers and soldiers to return "with convenience and satisfaction" when the time came for a reduction of the army, and inasmuch as it would therefore be necessary to advance them a part of their pay, the States be earnestly urged to make every effort in their power to forward the collection of taxes in order that Congress might relieve

[1] Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 568.

"the necessities of a meritorious army." But it was money, not motions, that the meritorious army sorely needed; and it watched its unsatisfied dissolution approaching step by step. Congress indeed had done all in its puny power to relieve the troops; for weeks, as Mr. Boudinot wrote to Washington, it had been "most faithfully and honestly engaged in laying a foundation for their future security as well as making provision for a present supply." More, he said, was not in its power; and he hoped that the soldiers would not in this last hour dishonor themselves and forfeit their hard-earned glory by violent measures. They should not think themselves the only sufferers; the burden was also heavy on the shoulders of the members of Congress, and not a man in the army would envy the latter their position were he to be one week in their place.[1]

The belief nevertheless had been steadily growing in Congressional circles that it was high time to begin the reduction of the forces; and, if for no other reason than to curtail expenses, on May 26th a motion framed by Mr. Hamilton was agreed to, instructing Washington to grant furloughs to non-commissioned officers and men enlisted to serve during the war who would be discharged as soon as a definitive treaty of peace were concluded; and the Secretary at War, together with the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to take proper measures for conducting such troops to their respective homes in such manner as might be most convenient to themselves and the States through which they should pass. And acting on a tactful suggestion made some time previously by Washington, the furloughed men were allowed to carry home their arms and accoutrements. The resolution of the 26th of May had been adopted on grounds of economy, and Washington lost no time in issuing on June 2d the

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 300.

necessary orders to the commanders of the different corps of the army.

The officers at Newburgh, however, resolved to make one more effort to secure public action, and appointed a committee to draft an address to Washington entreating that the orders be suspended or altered so that no officer or private be compelled to accept furlough until some settlement of accounts had been reached, balances struck, and certificates of amounts due had been given including commutation for officers and the gratuity for privates. By the furlough orders they found themselves forced to leave the army without means of defraying debts incurred during service, or even paying their petty obligations to their servants, much less of carrying home to their families that support of which long military service had deprived them. Exposed as they were to the insults of the meanest camp-follower no less than to arrest by the sheriff, they pointed out that the furlough orders were sending them home without means, and without the smallest prospect of obtaining credit until they could get into business; and they begged therefore that the orders be suspended or that money be given them sufficient to let them start for home honorably.

Washington was deeply moved by their confidence in him and assured them that no one was more cognizant of their distress than himself; and, while reminding them that he was after all only a public servant and as much under orders as they, he nevertheless agreed to alter the orders to the extent of permitting as many of the "war-men," *i. e.*, those enlisted for the war, as did not wish furlough to report to the adjutant-general, so that an equal number of the three-year men might be furloughed in their place, and thus the main object of the resolution — the reduction of expenses — might still be fulfilled.

This reply and this act, together with Washington's evi-

dently sincere sympathy, were sufficient to stifle any expression of bitterness that the furlough order may have engendered at the Newburgh camp. But elsewhere were quickened the seeds of resentment already sown; and their sudden harvest Congress was to reap before the month had passed. The story of that harvest and its sequel, — of the mutiny of the troops at Lancaster and Philadelphia, of the ignominious flight of Congress from the city which had been its home for five consecutive years, to a small but already historic Jersey village ten miles beyond the Delaware, and of the five months sojourn of Congress in that village — is the story contained in this volume.

CHAPTER II

THE MUTINY AND CONGRESS

At the Philadelphia barracks were quartered three companies of the Twentieth Pennsylvania Infantry and one of artillery, composed chiefly of recruits, of whom the majority had been enlisted but five months at most and had seen no more arduous service than employment as guards for British prisoners. With them were also a number of veterans whose participation in the mutiny of 1781 had left an ugly stain on their record. The recruits imagined themselves worse off than they really were; the veterans had had experience in revolt; all were discontented with the present and fearful of the future. Many had received no pay since December and they scented danger in the proposals of furlough, and viewed with distrust any fresh promise of payment. Knowing their disposition, General Arthur St. Clair, who was stationed at Philadelphia, wrote to the Paymaster General, John Pierce, on request of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, asking him to come to Philadelphia or send some one in his stead to make a settlement; and he received the answer that Pierce himself would arrive in a few days. But the Paymaster General failed to appear, for the reason, assigned later, that the army ledgers were all at Newburgh.[1] On May 30th and June 2d St. Clair called on Morris to ask for the share of pay due to the troops under his command, but was met each time with the obvious answer that preferences could not be made and that his men would receive their share with the rest of the army.[2] Meanwhile all had to wait until the neces-

[1] Letters of Washington, 63, folio 287.

[2] Morris' Diary, May 30th and June 2d.

sary paper money should be prepared, adequate cash being out of the question.

On the night of June 12th there were added to the Philadelphia troops about two hundred furloughed men of the Maryland Line on their way home. This accession of numbers, coupled almost certainly with civilian instigation and with the news of the protest against furloughs without pay addressed to Washington a week before at Newburgh by his officers, led the malcontents at the Philadelphia barracks to decide on bold measures. On the 13th, just as General St. Clair was about to issue orders conforming to Washington's instructions, the sergeants got together and drew up a remonstrance which was delivered to Congress that day. This document has disappeared from its place among the papers of the Continental Congress; but from a letter to Edmund Randolph written by James Madison[1] a few days later (June 17th), we learn that it described the hardships the soldiery had endured for their country's cause, declared it to be their country's duty to grant them satisfaction and ended by demanding that Congress give a satisfactory answer before night, or they would not be responsible for the consequences. To this "very turbulent and indecent"[2] address Congress made no reply, but General St. Clair and Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary at War, immediately went among the men and by adopting what Madison called "prudent and soothing measures," succeeded in allaying their fears. President Boudinot, General St. Clair, and Nathaniel Gorham and Thomas Fitzsimmons, members of Congress, came to tell Robert Morris of the mutinous disposition of the troops and to seek reassurance, and they particularly informed him of the morning's remonstrance. But the Financier could give them no sat-

[1] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 548. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 478.

[2] Boudinot to the American Ministers at Paris. Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 546.

isfaction; he frankly replied that he had planned to go to Bethlehem that evening to visit his assistant, Gouverneur Morris; he had not the money wherewith to pay the soldiers and therefore saw no reason for cancelling his engagement and remaining in the city even though the soldiers should mutiny.[1]

No official notice was taken of the remonstrance of the sergeants and St. Clair issued orders that pay-rolls for February, March, and April, and returns of the number of men and the length of their enlistment should be made, and that commanding officers should send for as many furloughs as would be needed. Application for warrants based on the pay-rolls was to be made at the War Office, where they would be honored in notes signed by Robert Morris. At this the restlessness of the troops was renewed, the absence of any reference to pay for January being the immediate cause. Later in the day a second order from the Commander-in-Chief was posted by St. Clair, calling for lists of all those who declined furloughs. The omission of the January pay seems to have been accidental, for on the 17th further orders were issued that the payment for January should be in cash and that of the other three months in Morris' notes. This change the soldiers thought to be a result of the sergeants' remonstrance already mentioned and according to Colonel Richard Humpton, commanding the barracks, they exulted in what they considered a victory, and began to refuse to obey their officers. Even then the situation might have been saved had not an unfortunate order from the Paymaster General's department come to the artillery paymaster as he was disbursing his cash. He was directed to give to those who declined furloughs only their January pay,[2] and at this murmurings broke out

[1] Morris' Diary, June 13th.

[2] There seems to have been a misunderstanding about the matter. On June 7th, when he was giving Philip Audibert, Assistant Paymaster General, $50,000

noisily. It now became apparent that the situation had suddenly grown critical. There was but little doubt in the minds of many members of Congress that more than mere discontent lay behind the attitude of the troops. That private individuals, whose names have been successfully concealed, but who as public creditors were ill affected toward the government because of unpaid and overdue interest on certificates, were conniving at this discontent, if not actually encouraging it, was clearly the opinion of men like Benjamin Hawkins and Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, Colonel Richard Butler, of Lancaster, and General St. Clair, of Philadelphia. The tone of Madison's correspondence on the situation also implies the existence of outside influences, and Washington broadly intimated his belief in this partial explanation of the army's distemper. On the other hand, we have the sworn affidavit of James Bennett, a sergeant major in the artillery, to the effect that early in June he had been approached one day at the "Doctor Franklin" tavern, on Second Street, Philadelphia, by two officers, Captain Henry Carberry [1]

worth of the notes he had been signing, Morris told him to advise Paymaster Pierce to pay only those who had accepted furloughs, his reason apparently being that he would not have notes enough for all; but when Major Jackson called ten days later to enquire on behalf of General St. Clair and General Lincoln, whether the pay then being distributed was for furloughed men only, Morris said it was not (Diary June 7th and 17th).

[1] Henry Carberry was the son of Mary Carberry, of St. Mary's County, Maryland. He entered the army in January, 1777, as a first lieutenant in Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment, becoming captain in November, 1778. In August, 1779, he was wounded in battle, and retired from service in 1781. In 1784 he returned from Europe whither he had fled after the mutiny, and was arrested at Baltimore, and brought to jail at Annapolis. He confessed his guilt and begged for mercy. His subsequent record was unimpeachable. In 1791 he became a captain in General St. Clair's Levies, and in March, 1792, a captain in the U. S. Infantry. In February, 1794, he resigned. He served as Colonel of the thirty-sixth U. S. Infantry from March, 1813, to March, 1815, and died May 26, 1822. (Papers Continental Congress, 38, pp. 209–211, and Heitman.)

and John Sullivan.[1] The latter asked him if the soldiers were expecting speedy settlement. When Bennett replied affirmatively, he was informed that he and his comrades were deceiving themselves; that they were to be dismissed without any settlement whatsoever. "But," continued Sullivan, "if you will assemble the troops under arms and be headed by us, we will take you where you'll get every farthing." And Carberry and Sullivan always claimed that they were the sole originators and prime movers of this mutiny; but so far as the present writer has been able to discover, no statement of their plans has been preserved.

Meanwhile at the Lancaster barracks a more acute condition was confronting the authorities. Colonel Richard Butler, of the Third Pennsylvania, in command of the barracks, had promptly complied with General St. Clair's revised orders, but on the morning of the 17th his sergeants called on him and informed him that they had determined to go to Philadelphia to obtain justice. They said they wanted not furloughs but settlement, and they desired to be kept in active service until settlement was complete. He reasoned with them and they dispersed apparently satisfied; but he soon heard that they were preparing to leave Lancaster. With Colonel Samuel Attlee and the other officers in the town, he hastened to the

[1] John Sullivan belonged to a wealthy Irish family, and through sheer admiration of the principles for which the colonies were fighting came by way of France, in 1779, to enter American service. In September of that year he joined General Stephen Moylan's Fourth Regiment of Light Dragoons as a cornet, receiving a captaincy the next month. He served through the war, and Moylan testified later that he did not know of "an officer who conducted himself with more honor and spirit." When the Dragoons of the Fourth Regiment were disbanded, Sullivan had his accounts made, and on the issuance of the furlough order of May 26th he obtained leave of absence, and soon thereafter turned up with Carberry in connection with the mutiny. In 1785 he endeavored to get his back pay, but his military record was closed on June 27th, 1786, when the damning words "left service without leave" were placed against his name. (Pap. Cont. Cong. 38, pp. 79, 209, 215, and Heitman.)

parade ground and gathering the men around him made a speech. He told them that measures had been taken for closing their accounts even before the orders of the 17th arrived; he reminded them that returns had been called for of those who accepted furloughs and those who did not; returns for clothing had also been ordered, together with pay-rolls for January to be settled in cash and pay-rolls for February, March, and April to be settled in Morris' notes, with assurance of quarters and provisions until the order was fulfilled. This offer he repeated, and at the same time pointed out the impossibility of completing the rolls away from the place where the men were stationed; and he urged them to remain at Lancaster in obedience to their officers.

But these sensible words fell on deaf ears. Carberry and Sullivan had been sending letters to the sergeants, insinuating that the government was intentionally delaying payment with the purpose of ultimate repudiation, and assuring them that the only way in which they could secure their back-pay was to come to Philadelphia and demand it. The fact that these letters were anonymous had not lessened their effectiveness. Colonel Butler's speech was sniffed at, and at half-past eight that morning (June 17th), about one hundred and twenty men started for Philadelphia under the leadership of a sergeant named Nagle. They went fully armed, with ammunition and field-pieces, and grapeshot in plenty.

Colonel Butler, on consultation with his officers, decided to send representatives after them to try to induce them to return. Captains Walker, Montgomery, and Chrystie were appointed to the task, and Lieutenant E. Butler was sent on to Philadelphia to deliver to President Dickinson of the State Council the following letter from Colonel William Henry, with a similar letter from Colonel Butler.

LANCASTER, June 17th, 1783.

Sir, Eighty armed soldiers set off this morning for Philadelphia to cooperate with those now in the City in such measures as may appear to them the most likely to procure their pay (or perhaps to possess themselves of money at any rate). I have thought it my duty to give the most timely information possible that the City may not be surprized. I am informed that part of Genl Armand's Corps will be here to-morrow on their way to Philadelphia & am of opinion from what has transpired from some of the men who are still here, that they will follow the others to the City & share the same fate, they have thrown out several threats, that they will rob the Bank, the Treasury &ca. &ca.

I am Sir Your very humble servant

WILLIAM HENRY[1].

His Excell^{y} John Dickinson, Esqr

On coming up with the mutineers, Captain Chrystie read to them an address which Colonel Butler had prepared, repeating in clearer terms his statements of the morning, and closing with these words:

"Nor do we imagine that your appearance at Philadelphia can have any good effect in your favor as it will be justly constreud into a menace rather than a proper means of Seeking Justice after what is offered You."[2]

But the Colonel's communication was as futile as his speech, and the march was continued.

Lieutenant Butler had meanwhile pushed on to Philadelphia with the letters of Colonels Henry and Butler and had handed them to Mr. Dickinson, who at once transmitted them to Congress. To Robert Morris, whose office was the storm centre of governmental circles, and to whom every bit of bad news was invariably hurried by half a dozen callers, Mr. Dickinson brought the contents

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong. 38, p. 123. Dipl. Corr. U. S., Vol. 1, p. 14.
[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 37. Dipl. Corr. U. S., Vol. 1, p. 17.

of the two letters, and Major Jackson, Assistant Secretary at War, with other disconcerted gentlemen, came in to discuss the latest phase.[1] To Morris they seemed to look as to a magician, hoping against hope to see him perform the miracle of making money out of nothing; but they left unsatisfied, while the Financier in spite of the gathering storm remained the calmest man in Philadelphia.

Congress turned the dispatches over to the Secretary at War, and at the same time appointed Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, and Richard Peters a committee to confer with the State Council as to the proper steps to be taken with regard to the mutineers. At the conference[2] the Congressmen proposed that the Council call out a detachment of the militia to intercept them, pointing out the danger incurred by allowing them to join the troops in the Philadelphia barracks whose ugly temper had already been revealed in the remonstrance of a few days before. But the Council demurred, asserting that the militia would not come out unless the mutineers committed acts of violence. The Congressional committee then, on the 19th, directed Major Jackson,[3] Assistant Secretary at War, to go out and meet the Lancaster men and endeavor to turn them back. He went; he assured them that Congress had no intentions other than to do them justice; he promised they should be allowed to remain in the service until their accounts were settled if they preferred that arrangement to furloughs; he agreed that they should receive share in the allowance of pay which was being made to the army at large, and he pointed out the injudiciousness of their present action; but he might have addressed the trees on the roadside with just as much effect, and he came back to Philadelphia unsuccessful in his mission.

[1] Morris' Diary, June 19th.

[2] See report of the committee in *Journal* for July 1st.

[3] Hamilton to Jackson, Pap. Cont. Cong. 38, p. 161.

On the morning of Friday, June 20th, with drums beating and bayonets fixed, the Lancaster detachment, less a score who had deserted on the way, marched into town as gaily as if on parade. Welcomed with cheers by the citizens, at the barracks where they calmly quartered themselves they were received by their comrades with open arms as brothers and fellow-sufferers, and when Colonel Humpton announced at afternoon roll-call that they would be paid off at Lancaster and nowhere else he only added fuel to a growing fire.

The air was alive with wild rumors; some said that the mutineers intended to raid the Bank; others declared that an assault would be made on the Council; others that Congress was to be seized and held for ransom; everyone knew why the men had come, but no one could tell just what they proposed to do.

Such was the exciting state of affairs in the capital of the United States when the members of Congress adjourned on Friday afternoon according to their custom, not expecting to re-assemble until the following Monday.[1]

That night two men, one in the uniform of an officer, the other in civilian dress, appeared at the barracks and enquired for Sergeant Nagle. When Nagle came out accompanied by several other men a long conversation took place of which no record has been left, save that the visitors informed their hearers, on alleged unimpeachable authority, that they would receive just one month's pay and no more whether they accepted furlough or not. This information to disgruntled men, who in many cases were hundreds of miles away from home and who had families awaiting them, was hardly pacifying. Nor was

[1] In the afternoon the Committee of Congress, Peters, Hamilton, and Ellsworth called on Morris and had a long conference with him, and Morris agreed that all who had not been paid for January should receive that month's pay in specie and that of the next three months in notes, but the Lancaster men were to be paid at Lancaster only. (Diary, June 20th.)

it intended to be. Carberry and Sullivan — for they were the two visitors — had gone to the barracks with the sole purpose of perfecting arrangements for a demonstration of force.

At the barracks the next morning everything was ominously calm until General St. Clair and the two Morrises with President Dickinson went to address the men. They were hooted down for their pains. Mr. Dickinson on his return home spent an unpleasant half hour, if we may believe the story of Sergeant Nagle, as overheard a day or two later by an outsider named Benjamin Spyker, Jr.[1] and recited subsequently in the latter's sworn affidavit.[2] Nagle said that he and another man were deputed to go on the morning of the twenty-first to President Dickinson's house in Market Street and get his signature to a document engaging to give within three days a final statement as to the manner in which the authorities intended to settle with the soldiery. Mr. Dickinson, who happened to know his unwelcome callers personally, was much perturbed, and adopting dilatory tactics at once opened a bottle of wine for them. When it was finished he ordered another, whereupon Nagle informed him that they "had not come to get groggy, but to get their rights," and gave him half an hour in which to consider their errand. This grace was extended to thirty-five minutes, and when that time was up and Mr. Dickinson had not signed, Nagle told his companion to fetch the garrison while he guarded the now thoroughly frightened president. Mr. Dickinson then asked if he might not go upstairs in order to use his private pen and ink, only to receive the curt reply that he must sign where he was. Driven to bay he then tremblingly put

[1] A son (?) of Benjamin Spyker, the delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and prominent in the history of Berks Co., Pennsylvania. Cf. Montgomery's *History of Berks Co.* (Reading, Pa., 1894.)

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong. 38, p. 57.

his name to the document, and his visitors departed. Some time during that lively morning he and Colonel Humpton visited Mr. Morris to inform him of the attitude of the mutineers. The Financier advocated calling out the militia, and sent for Thomas Willing, president of the new bank, and advised him to take whatever precaution the directors should deem expedient.

Either Nagle did not think President Dickinson's autograph of sufficient weight, or his comrades at the barracks saw nothing to be gained by a wait of three days; for at half past twelve when all the officers were away at dinner the long roll was suddenly sounded. The President was entertaining at his own table the officers of the two companies which had arrived at Philadelphia on the 15th from Charleston.[1] His guests hurried to the barracks and with their companies fell in to a man. The Lancaster detachment and about one hundred and fifty of the recruits were already drawn up. No one save Nagle seemed to know why the long roll had been sounded nor where the troops were going; but it was soon made clear that they were bound for the State House.

The news spread like wildfire; the city was at once in an uproar. Word reached Morris just after Thomas Willing left the Office of Finance; he hurried home to allay the fears of his family, and then went to the house of a friend to await developments. The Carolina companies proceeded to President Dickinson's residence, unaware that he had hastened to the State House where the Council was in session. Several troops of militia paraded, says Major Denny, a statement which is corroborated by the diary of Jacob Hiltsheimer the Philadelphia stock-raiser,[2] and discredits the assertion of the Council that

[1] Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, Vol. 7 (1860) p. 256–257.

[2] *Penna. Mag.*, Vol. 16, p. 165.

the militia would not come out unless acts of violence were committed; but it has been impossible to find that any effort was made to restrain the mutineers. Indeed, Nagle declared that the militia-men were afraid.

At Nagle's direction Sergeant Robinson with an advance guard of thirty men marched to the State House, and on arriving there, pushed his way in to President Dickinson and presented this communication written by Carberry and Sullivan:

May it please your Excellency.

We the non Commission'd Officers and Soldiers now in this City demand of you and the hon. Council authority to appoint commissioned Officers to command us and redress our grievances, which Officers to have full powers to adopt such measures as they may judge most likely to procure us justice. You will immediately issue such authority and deliver it to us or otherwise we shall instantly let in these injured soldiers upon you, and abide by the consequences. You have only twenty minutes to deliberate on this matter — The Officers in general have forsaken us and refuse to take any further command. This I presume you all know.

We are in behalf of ourselves and the men Yours &c &c.[1]

A few minutes later the rest of the soldiers — numbering in all between two hundred and fifty and three hundred — in immediate command of Sergeant Townsend, also reached the State House, and there Nagle formed them into a hollow square around the building, posting guards at every entrance.

The Council promptly and unanimously resolved to reject the insolent address, but remained close in their room for an hour after its receipt. The secretary was sent out to ask if the document represented the opinion of the soldiers in general, a question which met with further insolence. Meanwhile President Boudinot of

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 27. Dipl. Corr. U. S., Vol. 1, p. 35. The threat, as usually quoted, mistakenly speaks of "enraged" instead of "injured" soldiers.

Congress, being informed by a member of his committee of the sudden turn that affairs had taken, had issued a hurry call for a special meeting, though for what purpose is by no means clear; and in obedience to his summons most of his colleagues had gathered in the State House where Congress was wont to sit. As he was about to pass through to the Congress-room several persons pointed at him and cried: "There! There goes the President of Congress! Why do you let him pass?" Three soldiers, two of them Frenchmen and the other a man named Andrew Wright, private in Captain Robert Wilkie's company, sprang forward and seized him, and he might have fared badly had not Sergeant Townsend, who happened to be there, ordered the men to release him, reprimanding them severely, apologizing to Mr. Boudinot and naively assuring him that they had no intention of insulting gentlemen.[1]

Soon after one o'clock, six States being represented although this was no quorum, Congress resolved to request the Council to disperse the mutineers. But Mr. Dickinson replied in person that he did not see his way to such action unless actual violence were offered, and with his reply handed to Congress the address the Council had received. General St. Clair was sent for to urge the men to return to the barracks. His first report, says Madison, gave no encouragement. After various propositions had been rejected as inadequate, Congress decided to take no steps whatever toward redress of alleged grievances while thus menaced, and furthermore resolved to remain in session until the regular hour of adjournment but to transact no business.[2] At this juncture St. Clair reported to the Council that he could arrange matters peaceably if the Council would agree to a conference

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong. 38, pp. 49 and 73. Affidavits of Sergeants Townsend and Murthwaite.

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 466. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 483.

with a committee of the soldiers. Dickinson sought the advice of Boudinot, and when the latter cheerfully acquiesced the Council consented to the conference.

Congress remained in the State House until about half past three, when the members departed unmolested. In fact, Mr. Boudinot alone appears to have come in personal contact with the mutineers. Otherwise, and in spite of the malignant generosity of citizens who passed liquor around, they behaved in an orderly manner, "individuals only," according to Madison, "occasionally uttering offensive words, and wantonly pointing their muskets to the window of the halls of Congress."

Elias Boudinot was badly frightened and his letter to Washington written half an hour after the adjournment reveals his agitation. "They have seized," said he, "the public Magazine[1] and I am of opinion that the worst is not yet come. . . . The Militia of the City, will I suppose be called out, but there are some suspicions that the Mutineers value themselves on their interest with the Inhabitants. It is therefore the wish of the Members who were assembled, that your Excellency would direct a movement of some of your best Troops, on whom you can depend under these circumstances, toward this City, as it will be of the most dangerous consequences if a Measure of this kind is to be put up with, and no one can tell where it will end."[2]

So great was the impression produced on him that he called another meeting of Congress that evening, and at its close penned a second letter to the Commander-in-Chief:

PHILADELPHIA 21. June 1783.
11 O'Clock P. M.

DEAR SIR,

This Afternoon I dispatched an Express to your Excellency (a copy of whose dispatches is enclosed)

[1] He wrote to the Ministers at Paris that the mutineers "had taken possession of the powder-house and several public arsenals." Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 547.

[2] Letters to Washington, 92, p. 224. Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 332.

informing of the mutinous conduct of the Troops in the Barracks in this City, part of whom lately came in a mutinous manner from Lancaster.

I thought proper to call Congress together this Evening since writing by the Express, in order to deliberate on the proper Steps to be taken in consequence of the unpardonable insult of the day.

I have the honor to enclose your Excellency the result of our deliberations on the subject. These Resolutions are to be kept a secret till we are sure what the issue of the conference with the Supreme Executive Council will produce. — By the last Resolve your Excellency will perceive, that the request of the Members present this morning is confirmed, as it has become absolutely necessary that this wound to the dignity of the Foederal Government should not go unpunished.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,

Sir,
Your Excellency's
Obd^t^
and very humb. Ser^t^
ELIAS BOUDINOT.[1]

The resolutions adopted that evening, and of which copies were sent to General Washington, were three in number:

Resolved, That the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania be informed that the Authority of the United States having been this day grossly insulted by the disorderly and menacing Appearance of a body of Armed Soldiers About the place within which Congress were assembled & the Peace of this city being endangered by the mutinous disposition of the said troops now in the Barracks, it is, in the Opinion of Congress, Necessary that effectual measures be immediately taken for supporting the Public authority.[2]

Resolved, That the Committee, on a letter from Col. Butler be directed to Confer, without loss of time with the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania on the

[1] Letters to Washington, 92, p. 228.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong. 1, vol. 35, *Journal*, June 21st.

practicability of carrying the Preceding resolution into effect; And that in case it shall appear to the Committee that there is not a Satisfactory ground for expecting Adequate and Prompt exertions of this State for supporting the dignity of the foederal Government, the President on the Advice of the Committee be Authorized & directed to summon the Members of Congress to meet on Thursday next at Trenton or Princeton in New-Jersey in order that further & more effectual measures be taken for suppressing the Present revolt & maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States.[1]

Resolved, that the Secretary at War be directed to communicate to the Commander in chief the State & disposition of the said troops, in order that he may take immediate measures to dispatch to this City such force as he may judge Expedient for suppressing any disturbances that may Ensue.[1]

While these resolutions were being read to Mr. Dickinson[2] later that night at his house by Hamilton and Ellsworth, and while Morris was again urging him to call out the militia, Carberry and Sullivan were discussing the events of the afternoon with twenty or thirty non-commissioned officers and privates at the "Sign of the Three Tuns" on Race Street "near the common." They assured the soldiers that if a stiff front were kept up they would in a day or two receive their back pay with satisfactory terms for the future. There was plenty of money in the city, they said; there were merchants who would willingly lend it for such a purpose — they mentioned particularly Major Nicholls; and in any case there were more ways than one of getting it. For the time being, however, they counselled order and sobriety. Then Carberry suggested the appointment of a committee to represent the soldiery, and in a few moments he, with Cap-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong. 1, Vol. 35, *Journal*, June 21st.

[2] See message of Dickinson and the Council to the General Assembly in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 24th, giving their version of the whole affair; and also Hamilton's objecting letter to Dickinson (misprinted Reed) in J. C. Hamilton's edition of A. Hamilton's Works, Vol. 1, p. 374, etc.

tains Chrystie and Steel and Lieutenants Huston and Sullivan, found himself elected to this duty.

At nine o'clock Sunday morning, June 22d, at Mr. Dickinson's house, the first conference between the Congressional committee and the State Council took place. Hamilton and Ellsworth informed the Council that in the opinion of Congress the affair of Saturday was of so serious a nature and was fraught with such dangerous possibilities that it necessitated the adoption of vigorous and effective measures "to put a stop to the future progress of the evil, and to compel submission on the part of the offenders." They refrained from specifying what measures they thought would be effective, but at the same time suggested that the militia, or a portion thereof sufficient to suppress the revolt, be called out; and they informed the Council that Congress had suspended its deliberations until the State should adopt proper steps to provide against the possibility of a repetition of Saturday's demonstration. But the Council was not prepared to call out the militia without ascertaining the state and disposition of the men composing it, and replied that it would be necessary to consult with the militia officers for that purpose. The conference was accordingly adjourned until the next day, when, previous to resuming the discussion, Hamilton and Ellsworth sent a letter to President Dickinson requesting that the answer of the Council be made in writing so that there might be no future misunderstanding of the case, at the same time enclosing to him a copy of the Congressional resolutions of Saturday night. But at this second conference the Council refused to give a written reply, alleging irregularity and incompatibility with the dignity of the State in such procedure. The committee then protestingly accepted an oral answer, of which the substance is found in the written report made by Hamilton and Ellsworth on July 1st, and which was nothing less than a declaration that no aid

was to be expected from the militia unless the situation became much more threatening. It was the opinion of the Council that it would be unnecessary and inexpedient to call on the militia: conciliation rather than coercion was advocated, especially as there were hints of submission on the part of the mutineers, although they still were under arms and were holding the city arsenal. To these arguments Hamilton replied at some length, and President Dickinson found himself between Scylla and Charybdis, urged on the one hand by the representatives of the United States to call out the militia against the soldiers, while on the other hand he knew that the citizens considered the soldiers objects of pity rather than chastisement. He chose to side with the citizens, and after further fruitless discussion Hamilton and Ellsworth retired, with no alternative left under the resolution of Saturday but to advise Mr. Boudinot to adjourn from the city. Nevertheless, desiring to be guiltless of undue haste, and to give the Council a last chance to reconsider, as well as to see what basis of fact existed for the rumors of submission, they withheld their report for twenty-four hours.

On Monday night the Council assembled again at Dickinson's house, and issued orders to the lieutenants of the city and county, all the field officers of the militia, and Captain Morris of the Light Horse to meet the Council in conference at the State House the next morning at ten. At this conference the officers decided with the Council that it would be imprudent to call out the militia, but agreed, if negotiations failed and the soldiers insisted on unreasonable claims, to make every effort to support public authority and to use their influence to dispose public opinion in that direction. And in order to be ready for serious business, ammunition was stealthily distributed to convenient points in the city. This was the first real step toward enforcement of order taken by the State authorities.

President Boudinot had already learned how the wind was blowing, and on Monday had written to his brother Elisha that Dickinson and his Council lacked the necessary backbone to call out the militia; the political manœuvers in connection with the question of federal residence which was to be settled in the coming October were "unhinging government"; the mutineers were privately supported, and it would be a wonder if the members of Congress were not all prisoners before long.

"Congress will not sit here," he continued, "but have authorized me to change their place of Residence — I mean to adjourn to Princeton if the Inhabitants of Jersey will protect us — I have wrote to the Governor particularly — I wish you could get your Troop of Horse to offer their aid and be ready if necessary to meet us at Princeton on Saturday or Sunday next if required —

"I would not wish anything to be made more public than is necessary for the above purpose —

"I wish Jersey to show her readiness on this occasion as it may fix Congress as to their permanent residence —"[1]

On Tuesday morning Robert Morris was notified by Hamilton, Fitzsimmons, Wilson, and Peters, to prepare himself for departure from the city, as it was probable that Congress would leave that afternoon. Charles Thomson and Major Jackson came to consult him about money for transportation, and later in the day Alexander Hamilton returned to say that his committee had just reported to President Boudinot the fruitlessness of their conferences with the Council. The departure of Congress was to be kept secret lest the soldiers should be tempted to seize the members of Congress and Morris himself as hostages for pardon. Mr. Boudinot called and also wrote a note informing Morris of the adjournment. Public business came to a standstill. Closing his office and placing Samuel Lyon, a secretary, on guard

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 336.

over the archives of the department, the Financier with Gouverneur Morris that evening left Philadelphia for Trenton, where he arrived early the next morning and found quarters.[1]

On receiving Hamilton's report, President Boudinot orally notified all of his colleagues whom he could find, and then, leaving the following proclamation behind him, set off for Princeton.

By His Excellency
Elias Boudinot, Esquire,
President of the United States in Congress Assembled.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas a body of armed Soldiers in the service of the United States, and quartered in the Barracks of this City, having mutinously renounced their obedience to their Officers, did, on Saturday the Twenty-First Day of this instant, proceed, under the direction of their Serjeants, in a hostile and threatening manner, to the Place in which Congress were assembled, and did surround the same with Guards: And whereas Congress in consequence thereof, did on the same Day resolve, "That the President and Supreme Executive Council of this State should be informed, that the authority of the United States having been, that Day, grossly insulted by the disorderly and menacing appearance of a body of armed Soldiers, about the Place within which Congress were assembled; and that the Peace of this City being endangered by the mutinous Disposition of the said Troops then in the Barracks; it was, in the Opinion of Congress, necessary, that effectual Measures should be immediately taken for supporting the public Authority:" And also whereas Congress did at the same Time appoint a Committee to confer with the said President and Supreme Executive Council on the practicability of carrying the said Resolution into due effect: And also whereas the said Committee have

[1] Diary, June 24th.

By His EXCELLENCY

Elias Boudinot, Eſquire,

President of the United States in Congreſs Aſſembled.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS a body of armed Soldiers in the ſervice of the United States, and quartered in the Barracks of this City, having mutinouſly renounced their obedience to their Officers, did, on Saturday the Twenty-Firſt Day of this inſtant, proceed, under the direction of their Serjeants, in a hoſtile and threatning manner, to the Place in which Congreſs were aſſembled, and did ſurround the ſame with Guards: And whereas Congreſs in conſequence thereof, did on the ſame Day, reſolve, "That the Preſident and Supreme Executive Council of this State "ſhould be informed, that the authority of the United States having been, that Day, groſsly inſulted by the "diſorderly and menacing appearance of a body of armed Soldiers, about the Place within which Congreſs were aſſem-"bled; and that the Peace of this City being endangered by the mutinous Diſpoſition of the ſaid Troops then in the "Barracks; it was, in the Opinion of Congreſs, neceſſary, that effectual Meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for "ſupporting the public Authority:" And alſo whereas Congreſs did at the ſame Time appoint a Committee to confer with the ſaid Preſident and Supreme Executive Council on the practicability of carrying the ſaid Reſolution into due effect: And alſo whereas the ſaid Committee have reported to me, that they have not received ſatisfactory Aſſurances for expecting adequate and prompt exertions of this State for ſupporting the Dignity of the fœderal Government: And alſo whereas the ſaid Soldiers ſtill continue in a ſtate of open Mutiny and Revolt, ſo that the Dignity and Authority of the United States would be conſtantly expoſed to a repetition of Inſult, while Congreſs ſhall continue to ſit in this City. I do therefore, by and with the Advice of the ſaid Committee, and according to the Powers and Authorities in me veſted for this Purpoſe, hereby ſummon the honourable the Delegates compoſing the Congreſs of the United States, and every of them, to meet in Congreſs on Thurſday the Twenty Sixth Day of June inſtant, at Princeton, in the ſtate of New-Jerſey, in order that further and more effectual Meaſures may be taken for ſuppreſſing the preſent Revolt, and maintaining the Dignity and Authority of the United States, of which all Officers of the United States, civil and military, and all others whom it may concern, are deſired to take Notice and govern themſelves accordingly.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Philadelphia, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, this Twenty-Fourth Day of June, in the Year of Our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Three, and of our Sovereignty and Independence the ſeventh.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

Atteſt.

SAMUEL STERETT, *Private Secretary.*

Philadelphia: Printed by DAVID C. CLAYPOOLE.

PROCLAMATION ADJOURNING CONGRESS TO PRINCETON

reported to me, that they have not received satisfactory Assurances for expecting adequate and prompt exertions of this State for supporting the Dignity of the fœderal Government: And also whereas the said Soldiers still continue in a state of open Mutiny and Revolt, so that the Dignity and Authority of the United States would be constantly exposed to a repetition of Insult, while Congress shall continue to sit in this City: I do therefore, by and with the Advice of the said Committee, and according to the Powers and Authorities in me vested for this purpose, hereby summon the honourable the Delegates composing the Congress of the United States, and every of them, to meet in Congress on Thursday the Twenty-Sixth Day of June instant, at Princeton, in the state of New-Jersey, in order that further and more effectual Measures may be taken for suppressing the present Revolt, and maintaining the Dignity and Authority of the United States, of which all Officers of the United States, civil and military, and all others whom it may concern, are desired to take Notice and govern themselves accordingly.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Philadelphia, this Twenty-Fourth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Three, and of our Sovereignty and Independence the seventh.

Attest: ELIAS BOUDINOT.[1]

SAMUEL STERETT, *Private Secretary.*

[1] This is probably one of the rarest of the Continental Congress broadsides. Few got outside of Philadelphia, and most of those posted in the city were torn down by the mutineers, an armful at least being so destroyed. The text above given is taken from the copy sent by Mr. Boudinot to Washington (Letters to Washington, 92, p. 242). The "Diary of Elias Boudinot" contains a facsimile of the proof copy preserved by Mr. Boudinot, and is interesting as it does not show the Claypoole imprint but bears on the other hand the president's autograph correction of the last phrase "and of our Sovereignty," etc., into the more formal "and of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States," etc., a correction which conforms with the manuscript version preserved in the letter-book of the president of Congress (Pap. Cont. Cong., 16, p. 202) and so published in the contemporary newspapers.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE FLIGHT OF CONGRESS.

THE proclamation seems to have been entirely unexpected, and together with the secret withdrawal of Congress, created an immediate sensation. At the barracks the memorial of grievances drawn up by the committee of sergeants chosen on Saturday night had been read at evening parade on Tuesday, but whatever enthusiasm that document had created was chilled by the plain business-like broadsides which began to appear all over the city. In spite of the bravado of some of the bolder spirits who went out to tear them off street corners and tavern doors, the general feeling at first was one of dismay augmented by the circulation of well-accredited reports that troops were already on their way to Philadelphia to put the city under martial law and quell the disturbance by sheer force. It was rumored that Washington himself was coming. Carberry and Sullivan fled the next morning, and the bottom of the mutiny at once fell out. This accounts for the request for pardon added to the memorial which was handed to the Council that Wednesday at noon. Hearing that the soldiers were in a very tumultuous mood, the State Council had just ordered a guard of 100 privates to be called out by the Lieutenant of the City Militia, and the clerk was copying the resolution when Captains Chrystie and Symonds of the committee for the soldiers came in with their list of grievances. There were seven distinct demands made in this memorial: (1) that the men should receive half-pay instead of four months' pay, the latter not being equitable since some had been enlisted barely five months, while others had

three years' pay due them; (2) that they should receive for the balance of their half-pay certificates which would specify date of redemption and not of the kind "we have before this been put off with"; (3) that they should receive the "small Articles in rations" promised at the beginning of the war and cut off since then, and likewise all deficiencies in clothing, etc.; (4) that patents for land should be given them with their discharges, and also the regular gratuity; (5) that all soldiers who had been discharged should be included in this proposed settlement, and all who might hereafter be discharged, especially those who had lost a limb; (6) that the proposed settlement be extended to all soldiers of the Pennsylvania line wherever they might be; (7) that the Lancaster troops be placed on the same footing with the rest. "These," concludes the memorial, "are all the requests your hardy Veterans have to make — we think them our right, and we hope to obtain them; and should the public need our services again, we declare to sacrifice our most endearing convictions to serve them." The memorial was signed by Sergeant James Bennett, "In behalf of the non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers in Garrison."[1]

The Council read the document, but refused to take any action on it, unless the men should first yield complete submission to authority. Chrystie and Symonds agreed so to inform their clients, but at the same time begged the Council to take all precautions for safety "as everything licentious was to be apprehended." Whereupon the Council increased the guard to 500 men.

Mr. Dickinson sat up all night in readiness for the signal of alarm, and M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister, who had been a deeply interested spectator of the whole affair, left the city at midnight for Princeton, bearing a

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 33. Dipl. Corr. U. S., Vol. 1, p. 22.

letter from Dickinson to Boudinot which recounted the latest developments.[1]

Carberry and Sullivan,[2] in their flight, had left behind them a note addressed to Lieutenant William Huston, a member of the committee to represent the soldiers, and an adjutant in Colonel Humpton's regiment. The note said merely: "Consult your own safety. We cannot get to you. H. C.–J. S." Accidentally it was delivered on Thursday to Captain Chrystie who with Symonds took it to Colonel Humpton. The latter at once went to the barracks and talked to the men for an hour, laying stress on the defection of Carberry and Sullivan and enlarging on the dangers of maintaining a hostile attitude now that the authorities were alarmed and thoroughly awakened to the situation. At length all except the Lancaster party grounded their arms, and leaving them at the barracks, proceeded to the residence of President Dickinson, where the latter harangued them further on their past and present behavior, insisting that they give further evidence of their good intention of "dutiful submission to the offended majesty of the United States" by compelling the Lancaster men also to lay down their arms and return home.[3]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 127, Dickinson to Boudinot June 25th, with endorsement by Boudinot: "Rec^{d} Thursday Morning 9 °Clock by the Minister of France, who said he rec^{d} it from the Presid^{t} of the State, at 12 °Clock the night before. E. B."

[2] In a somewhat theatrical letter of farewell to Colonel Moylan, dated the Cape, June 30th, Sullivan says that "a series of injuries and the incessant indignities we experienc'd were our sole inducements for prosecuting the plan at all risks." With Carberry he is being wafted on by a gentle though generous gale, with perfect tranquility of mind, conscious of no unworthy action and regretting nothing but their failure in a noble attempt —

"And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels
Than Caezar with a Senate at his heels."

He thanks Colonel Moylan for past kindnesses, and his address will be with Captain Richardson of the First Regiment of Guards, London, a brother of Major Richardson of Philadelphia. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 41; Dipl. Corr. U. S., Vol. 1, p. 37.) Carberry sent a tender letter of good-bye to his mother.

[3] Dickinson's message in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 24th, 1783.

The next morning at roll-call half of the Lancaster contingent yielded, and when at noon Colonel Humpton put the barracks under arms the rest also surrendered, and at six in the evening began their march back to Lancaster under the command of Lieutenant Herbert of the Second Pennsylvania.[1]

The action of Congress gave rise to much criticism. Outside the barracks opinion was divided. Many of those who condemned it were, to quote Madison's opinion, but partially acquainted with the facts, while many of those who justified it seemed "to have their eye remotely on the disgrace of the Executive Council of the State."[2] The local newspapers welcomed a genuine sensation, and at once became the recipients of more or less apt communications on the subject, which were freely copied by their extra-Philadelphia contemporaries. Some correspondents, like "Sincerus" in the *Freeman's Journal* for July 2d and "A Lover of Facts" in the issue for July 16th, upheld the action of Congress, blamed the soldiers for their conduct, and berated the Council for its supineness. More, like "Z" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (July 2d) declared that Congress had made a mountain out of a mole-heap, while in "An Observer" (*Freeman's Journal*, July 2d) the episode found at least one impartial chronicler. It was said by some people, according to "A Lover of Facts" that the flight of Congress was "the base born brat of petulant haste, and not the honourable child of reason"; but in his opinion Congress acted as deliberately and rationally as the nature of the case admitted. If there was anything regrettable in that action it was to be laid to the door of the "blest mild administration of Pennsylvania!" The Council and the officers of the militia had said that no dependence could be placed in the

[1] Dickinson to Boudinot, June 27th; Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 143.

[2] Madison to Randolph, June 30th, Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, page 553.

militia:—his letter was addressed to the militia—"If you are guilty, be honest and say so: if not, be men and clear yourselves."

In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, as quoted by the *Freeman's Journal* of July 16th, a writer grows sarcastic at the expense of Congress, and in a disgusted tone concludes, "I wish Congress would let the affair die, and publish no more about it, and I hope the council will publish nothing. The sooner the whole affair is forgotten the better." On the other hand, "A Friend of Government," in the *Freeman's Journal* of July 23d, says he "cannot call discretion cowardice," nor blame "a just and liberal resentment"; he defends the proclamation, but regrets that it contained any reflection on the State of Pennsylvania.

Robert Morris and General Lincoln came in for their share of blame in the searching questions asked by "Vox Populi" who, in the *Freeman's Journal* of July 23d, broadly hinted at tricky work on the part of these two officials as the true cause of the mutiny. "Vox Populi" would perhaps have changed his mind had he been given a glimpse of Morris' official letter-book and had there seen the copy of the Financier's emphatic words to James Lovell, receiver of taxes for Massachusetts, under date of June 2d:

"For Heaven's sake urge the speedy payment of considerable Sums, that we may do Something towards the Releif of those brave Fellows who will be obliged to beg or do worse if they are to be so shamefully deprived of their due."[1]

Another correspondent, while admitting the sacredness of the Union, offered his opinion that this sacredness "may in some cases, feel rather too quickly," and after a verbose disquisition "contemplating what the sacredness of the union is or ought to be," concluded that Congress was touchily precipitate.[2] Another anonymous

[1] Morris' Letter Book E, p. 349.

[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 2d, and *Virginia Gazette*, July 12th.

writer who with interesting self-importance considered himself insulted as a citizen by the departure of Congress, declared that the adjournment could not be justified on the premises: soldiers in Europe had often acted worse, "but we know of no sovereign power, or but very few who acted as Congress did." He granted that the soldiers "behaved exceedingly amiss and reprehensible"; but the suggestion that they were endangering public peace would have emanated more plausibly from "others and better informed than Congress."[1] Reply to this astounding letter was made in the *Gazette* of a week later and quoted by various other newspapers. It was easy, remarked the new writer, to say that Congress had acted hastily, inasmuch as no violence had actually been done by the mutineers. But subsequent facts proved that violence was intended, for if nothing serious was contemplated, why did the leaders decamp? It was only the defection of the leaders that made the plot flash in the pan.

After the first shock, however, public opinion settled down to an attitude of cynical indifference, whose keynote had been sounded by a paragraph in the *Philadelphia Gazetteer or the Chronicle of Freedom* of June 28th:

"The honorable Congress of the United States of America having been for 8 years past resolving and resolving, *did*, on Tuesday last, without their usual mature deliberation, hastily resolve to exchange their old sitting place for the more *salubrious* air of Princeton in the state of New-Jersey, where they will enjoy the double satisfaction of the Reverend Doctor W——'s lectures on politics and divinity."

Boudinot's proclamation is then quoted, and the passage continues:

"Though the citizens of Philadelphia do not regret the loss of Congress, yet they are sorry better reasons were

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 2d.

not assigned for their removal. The late Congressional proceedings exhibit neither dignity, fortitude, nor perseverance."[1]

And what was true in Philadelphia was true in a sense of the States at large, The mutiny of the soldiers and "flight of Congress," as it was now very generally called, became the talk of the land.

While Robert R. Livingston in New York was chaffingly congratulating Madison on Congress' departure from Philadelphia — a happy release, he says, which nothing but an armed force could have effected[2] — Madison's colleague, Joseph Jones, writing from Fredericksburg, in Virginia, was wishing that Congress had shown more firmness to the mutineers, and had remained in Philadelphia despite the lack of State support. The indignity of the situation could then have been taken up calmly and made a ground for removal from the city. As it is now, said Mr. Jones, Congress is "thought to have been too timid, at the same time that the Executive is blamed for their remissness." The Hon. Samuel Johnson, formerly a member of Congress, writing to ex-Governor Burke of North Carolina, says that the conduct of Congress "is variously represented, some considering it as savouring more of childish Petulance than dignified Resentment, while others think they could not consistent with the Dignity of the United States with which they were intrusted have Acted otherwise."[3]

Considerations of the effect on public opinion had not, however, been uppermost in the minds of the members of

[1] See also *Boston Evening Post and the General Advertiser*, July 19th, 1783, and *Salem Gazette*, July 17th, 1783.

[2] Letter of July 19th, Writings to Madison, Vol. 13, p. 109. He goes on to ask what will be Madison's future destination, and whether the members of Congress have become so "inamored with the pure air of the country as to continue Villagers."

[3] State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 16, p. 970.

Congress when with less than a quorum present they passed their removal resolutions on Saturday, June 21st, and least of all in Mr. Boudinot's mind when he drew up his proclamation of the 24th. He belonged to the party which disliked Philadelphia as a federal residence; his letter to his brother shows where his preference lay, and like his colleagues he had been no less frightened than insulted by the events of the 21st.

Just why he selected Princeton rather than Trenton for the next place of meeting is nowhere specifically stated in his letter-books; but the influences that governed his choice are not difficult to surmise. It was not the first time that Princeton had been considered in connection with the federal residence. As early as November, 1779, Benjamin Rush writing from Philadelphia to Colonel George Morgan of Princeton informed him that some of the members of Congress were talking of purchasing a few square miles of territory near that village wherein to erect public offices and buildings for a permanent federal home — "a more central — healthy — & plentiful Spot" said he "I believe cannot be found on the Continent." [1]

Mr. Boudinot's reasons were, however, chiefly personal. In the first place his experience in Philadelphia led him to prefer a village to a town, however small, as the abode of Congress. Although on one of the most important highroads in the country, Princeton was rural enough to shield Congress from most of the distractions and various forms of political jobbery that were already hampering legislation. He was moreover well acquainted with Princeton. As a boy he had played along its single street when his father's silversmith shop was also the village postoffice.[2] He had

[1] Princeton Collection, Library of Princeton University.

[2] There is no truth in Lieutenant J. G. Simcoe's assertion in his Military Journal (N. Y., 1844, p. 269) that Elias Boudinot's father was "a low Frenchman who kept an ale-house at Princeton." He was a silversmith by trade, and postmaster of Princeton for a number of years. Hageman, Vol. 1, p. 84, and New Jersey Archives, 1st series, Vol. 20, pp. 121, 151, 177, 389, 627.

married Hannah Stockton, the sister of Princeton's leading citizen, Richard Stockton the Signer, who by wedding Mr. Boudinot's sister Annis was already his brother-in-law. Richard Stockton had died in 1781, but his widow still lived at "Morven," the family homestead on the outskirts of the village. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the grain of truth lurking in the *Gazetteer's* sarcastic fling already quoted. Dr. Witherspoon had left Congress but a few months before in order to set the half-ruined College of New Jersey once more on its feet; and the recollection of his sturdy common sense and the anticipation of a further enlistment of his advice in the struggle with the new problems that now faced the government must have added their weight to Mr. Boudinot's preference. Nor is it probable that as a trustee of the College of New Jersey he had forgotten its unswerving loyalty to the Revolutionary cause or lost sight of the patriotism of citizens whose little village rejoiced in a well-earned reputation as a hot-bed of rebellion. Finally, there were in Congress at this time five graduates of the College — Joseph Montgomery of the Class of 1755, David Howell and Oliver Ellsworth who were graduated in 1766, Gunning Bedford and James Madison of 1771, besides Benjamin Hawkins who was a Princeton senior when he enlisted at the beginning of the war, and Alexander Hamilton, the refusal of whose request to be allowed to take the four years' course in two was the only reason that his name did not appear on Princeton class-rolls. In short, President Boudinot knew that, come what might, at Princeton Congress would be among tried and trustworthy friends.

This knowledge did not, however, lead him to cast prudence to the winds. As we have seen, he had already asked his brother to send his troop of horse to meet him in case protection might be needed. Whether his request was complied with or not, I have not been able to ascer-

tain. The course of events proved that the presence of additional troops in Princeton was unnecessary. But that his colleagues desired to run no risk is shown by the letter which he wrote to Washington on the evening of June 26th.

PRINCETON June 26th 1783
9 °Clock in the Evening.

Dear Sir:

I take the first Moment of Leisure since our Arrival here, to inform your Excellency that Congress have removed to this Place — The reasons of our Conduct, I cannot delay the Post to give you in full — They are in short contained in the enclosed Proclamation — I think my last was on Monday, the Committee appointed to Confer with the President & Council of the State, could not prevail to have the Militia called to suppress the Rioters — They delayed till Tuesday 2 °Clock in hopes of the good Sense of the Council finally prevailing, but finding all ineffectual & being told by the President as the opinion of Council, that unless the Mutineers should go farther than they had done (viz the making Congress & Council Prisoners) the Militia would not turn out, the Committee advised me to summon Congress agreeable to the Resolution of Saturday — I accordingly issued the enclosed Proclamation & left the City —

The Measure roused and alarmed the Council & Citizens and they began to see their own danger — On being informed that a Plan was in contemplation to attack the Bank, the Militia to the amount of 100 were called out & kept under Arms all Tuesday Night —

In the morning the Proclamation getting among the soldiers they also were alarmed, and began a Negotiation and many of them have laid down their Arms and it is said have empeached 5 of their Officers as at the bottom of the Business — I wish some Citizen of note may not be among the Number — two of the former viz Capt Carberry & Lt Sullivan made off as soon as they heard of the Submission — I am in hopes the Mutiny will be crushed — However at all Events the Members of Congress here, wish to see the detachment called for by Congress come on.

I write this as an Individual that your Exc^{y} may be duly informed of what has passed — I should be glad to see your Exc^{y} with the detachment if consistent with your other Duties —

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard and Esteem

Your Exc^{ys}
most Obed^{t} & Hb Servt
His Exc^{l} Genl Washington ELIAS BOUDINOT.

On the cover of the letter, below the address, is this note:

"The Post Rider is desired if he hears that his Exc^{y} Genl Washington has passed him on the way to hire a Rider and send this after him.

E. B."[1]

[1] Letters to Washington, 92, p. 241. It was characteristic of the times that Mr. Boudinot should also have utilized his "first moment of leisure" to open an account with Thomas Stockton, a local merchant, by ordering a side of lamb and a gallon of wine, supplementing the latter the next day with two more gallons, seventeen pounds of sugar, and a couple of three-shilling "Juggs," his well-trained steward adequately completing the situation by sending him "50 Lemm^{ns} & 50 Limes." Cf. Mr. Boudinot's Accounts in Appendix I *infra*.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW JERSEY'S RECEPTION OF HER VISITORS.

THE news that Trenton or Princeton was to be honored with the presence of Congress had traveled to New Jersey as rapidly as post-riders could carry it. When Vice-President Cox of the New Jersey State Council received on the 24th Mr. Boudinot's letter of the day before, he summoned to the French Arms tavern a meeting of the inhabitants of Trenton and its neighborhood "who being justly alarmed at the daring insult offered to the Supreme Government of the American Union, and being desirous of testifying their zeal in support of the Dignity & privileges of Congress"[1] speedily passed resolutions which were forwarded to President Boudinot the next day by the chairman of the meeting:

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Trenton and the Vicinity at the French Arms on Tuesday the 24 June, 1783.

Having been informed from undoubted authority that a most gross and daring insult has been offered to Congress, the Supreme Government of the American Union, by a number of lawless People in arms, assembled at the State House in Philadelphia on Saturday last.

Resolved unanimously that we think it our immediate duty to express our resentment and indignation at so flagitious a proceeding.

Resolved unanimously that we look upon tyranny and anarchy with equal abhorrence; and as we have, at the risque of every thing opposed the former, we are deter-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong. 46, p. 79, John Cox's letter of the 25th enclosing the resolutions. Following these is the report of the Committee consisting of Moore Furman, Stacy Potts, and Benjamin Smith appointed to ascertain what accommodations were available. The report is dated June 25th and states that sixty persons can be taken care of.

mined at the same risque, not to be wanting in our efforts to suppress the latter, on whatever occasion or under whatever form it may present itself.

Resolved unanimously, that we consider the support of Civil Government and the majesty of the Laws as among the first of Social duties, and riotous Citizens who disturb the public order and violate the dignity of the Union as the worst of Enemies.

Resolved unanimously that we feel the utmost chearfulness in pledging our lives and fortunes to the Government under which we live, in whatever way our Services may be required, whether in resisting foreign invasion or quelling intestine tumults.

Resolved unanimously that we would deem ourselves highly honored by the presence of Congress, and by an opportunity of testifying our zeal in support of their Dignity and Priviledges, should they in their wisdom think proper to adjourn to or fix their Residence in this State.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Inhabitants.

John Cox
David Brearley
Philemon Dickinson
Sam[l] Tucker
W[m] C. Houston
Sam[l] W. Stockton
} Committee.[1]

Governor Livingston of New Jersey also wrote to Mr. Boudinot on the 24th, assuring him of the loyalty of the State, adding that if Congress should see fit to honor the State with its presence he had not the least doubt that the citizens of New Jersey would cheerfully turn out to repel any violence that might be attempted; and that as soon as he should be informed of the movement of Congress to New Jersey, and that there was the least reason to apprehend that the mutineers intended to prosecute their riotous measures, he would with the greatest alacrity give the necessary orders, and think himself "not a little honored by being personally engaged in defending

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 83.

the representatives of the United States against every insult and indignity."[1]

These communications, of course, reached Mr. Boudinot after his decision had been made; and Trenton had to wait until the winter of 1784 before it became a Congressional residence.

Princeton was first heard from in the person of Colonel George Morgan, the former Indian Agent, whose model farm of over two hundred acres was situated within a stone's throw south-east of the College. On the brow of the long hill down which his property sloped was his stone farm-house "Prospect." This with all other buildings on his land he offered to Congress in the following letter:

Colonel Morgan presents his most respectful Compliments to his Excellency the President of Congress, & begs leave, through him, to offer to Congress the Use of several Buildings, on their own Terms, during their Stay at Princeton. One of them will afford a better Room for them to meet in than they can be immediately accommodated with elsewhere — Any or every part of his Farm & Meadows shall also be at their Command; And he takes the Liberty to tender his utmost Services, in every way he can be usefull to Congress, during their Residence in New Jersey.

Prospect June 25th, 1783.[2]

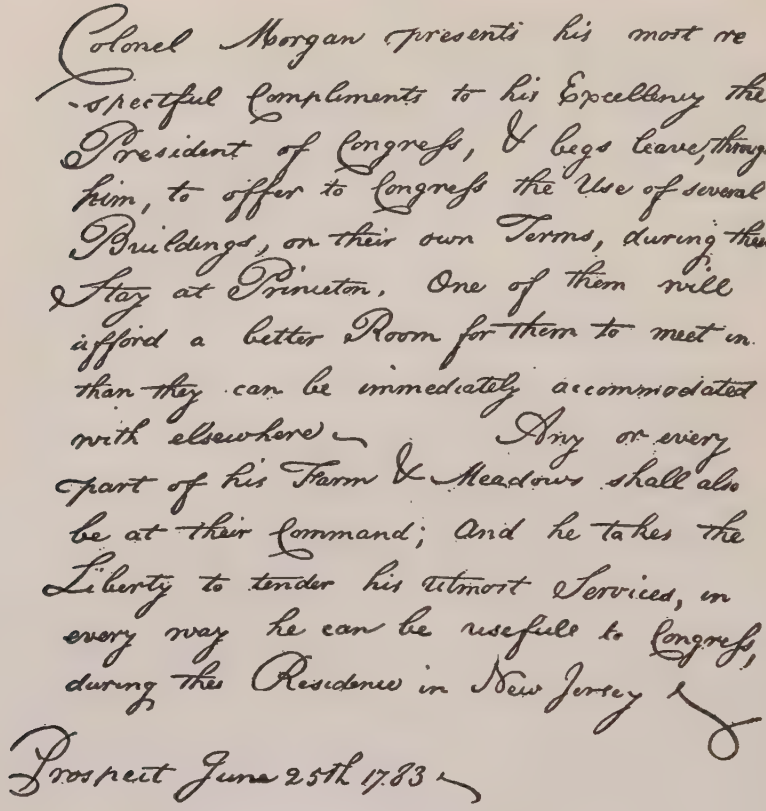
The next day, June 26th, the citizens of Princeton passed formal resolutions of loyalty, confidence, and welcome which were presented to Congress by Colonel Morgan and Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, Vice-President of the College.[3]

The Inhabitants of Princeton and its Vicinity being informed that gross Indignities have been offered to Con-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 68, p. 613.

[2] *Ibid.*, 46, p. 67. For the history of "Prospect," now the official residence of the presidents of Princeton University, see *Princeton University Bulletin*, Vol. 15, No. 3, June, 1904.

[3] *Ibid.*, 20, Vol. 2, p. 295.



Colonel Morgan presents his most respectful Compliments to his Excellency the President of Congress, & begs leave, through him, to offer to Congress the Use of several Buildings, on their own Terms, during their Stay at Princeton. One of them will afford a better Room for them to meet in, than they can be immediately accommodated with elsewhere. Any or every part of his Farm & Meadows shall also be at their Command; And he takes the Liberty to tender his utmost Services, in every way he can be useful to Congress, during their Residence in New Jersey.

Prospect June 25th 1783.

Colonel George Morgan's Letter to Congress.

gress by a number of People in Arms at Philadelphia, do resolve unanimously

That we think it our Duty to express the warmest Indignation and Resentment at such insolent Proceedings.

That we equally abhor Tyranny and Anarchy, and as we have always done, so we will continue, at every Risque to oppose both the one and the other under whatever Form they may appear.

That we esteem the Support of a good Government as the first Duty of Virtuous Citizens and consider the Violators of it as the most pernicious Enemies.

That we do with the utmost Chearfullness pledge our Lives & Fortunes to the Government under which we Live for the Protection of Congress in whatever way our Services may be required, whether in resisting Foreign Invasions or in quelling intestine Tumults.

That we esteem ourselves highly honor'd by the Confidence of Congress in the Choice of this Town as the Place of their Residence, [during the present Tumult][1] and we take the Earliest Opportunity to testify our Zeal to Support of their Dignity and Privileges, and that we will use our utmost Exertions for their comfortable Accommodation.

Signed on behalf of the Inhabitants of Princeton and its Neighbourhood by

Jona Deare
James M'Comb
Robt Stockton
John Berrien
Geo Morgan
Ch^{r} Beekman
Thos Wiggins
Thos Stockton
Enos Kelsey
Robert James Livingston
Dan Van Voorhis
Thos Moody
Saml S Smith
John Little
Isaac Anderson
Anth^{y} Joline
Andrew McMacken
Joseph Stout
Benj^{a} Hunt
Jacob Schenck
Jno Harrison
James Hamilton
Stephen Morford
Jacob Hyer
Noah Morford
Elias Woodruff
George Bergen
Robert Davidson[2]

On behalf of the College Dr. Smith also drew up an address whose dignity and touch of pathos make it an exceptional academic document.

May it please your Excellency,

The governours & masters of the college, happy in an opportunity of paying to the Congress of the United States,

[1] The bracketed words are struck out.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 75 : also *Pennsylvania Packet* July 17th, and *Virginia Gazette*, July 26th, 1783. The manuscript is addressed : "To his Excellency Elias Boudinot Esqr. President of Congress Princeton June 26th, 1783," and is endorsed "Read June 30th, 1783."

their profoundest & sincerest honours, beg leave to offer them, thro' your Excellency, to that august body.

Convinced how few accomodations this small village possesses, in comparison with those which, for several years, Congress have enjoyed in a large & flourishing city, we wish to offer them every convenience that the College, in its present state, can afford. If the Hall, or the library room, can be made of any service to Congress, as places in which to hold their Sessions, or for any other purpose, we pray that they would accept of them during their continuance in this place. And if, in the common shock of our country this institution hath suffered more than other places, both by friends & foes; from its readiness to assist the one, while the public was yet poor & unprovided with conveniencies for its troops; & from the peculiar & marked resentment of the other, as supposing it to be a nursery of rebellion, we doubt not but the candour of that most honourable body will readily excuse the marks of military fury which it still retains.

Signed, in behalf of the governours
& masters of the College, —

Sam[l] S. Smith, Professor of Divinity
& Moral-Philosophy.

Nassau-Hall
June 26th 1783.[1] James Riddle, Prof: Math:

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 71. Also *Freemans Journal*, July 16th, *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 17th, and *Virginia Gazette*, July 26th, 1783. The document is in Dr. Smith's handwriting and is addressed on the back "To His Excellency Elias Boudinot Esqr. President of Congress" and is endorsed "Offer made by the Professors of Naussau hall of their hall or library for the use of Congress Read 30th June, 1783." The word "Professors" is struck out in the endorsement and "Gov[rs]. & Masters" inserted. It will be noticed that this communication to Congress is signed by the vice-president of the College and by a tutor, and not by President Witherspoon. The diary of President Ezra Stiles of Yale (N. Y., 1901), Vol. 3, p. 77, supplies the information that Dr. Witherspoon passed through New Haven a few days later "on a Journey to the Eastward" so that it is practically certain he was not in Princeton when Congress arrived. There can be no other explanation for the fact that he did not sign the College offer to Congress. His regret at his absence at so notable a juncture must have been equalled only by the completeness of his acquiescence in all the steps which on his return to New Jersey he found had been taken for the accommodation of Congress by his fellow-townsmen and by his colleagues in the Faculty.

May it please your Excellency,

The governours & masters of the college, happy in an opportunity of paying to the Congress of the United States, their profoundest & sincerest honours, beg leave to offer them, thro' your Excellency, to that august body.

Convinced how few accommodations this small village possesses in comparison with those which, for several years, Congress have enjoyed in a large & flourishing city, we wish to offer them every convenience that the College, in its present state, can afford. If the Hall, or the library room, can be made of any service to Congress, as places in which to hold their sessions, or for any other purposes, we pray that they would accept of them during their continuance in this place. And if, in the common shock of our country this institution hath suffered more than other places, both by friends & foes; from its readiness to assist the one, while the public was yet poor & unprovided with conveniencies for its troops; & from the peculiar & marked resentment of the other, as supposing it to be a nursery of rebellion, we doubt not but the candour of that most honourable body will readily excuse the marks of military fury which it still retains. —

Signed, in behalf of the governours & masters of the College, —

Nassau Hall, June 26th 1783. —

Sam'l Smith, Professor of Divinity & Moral Philosophy.

James Riddle Prof. Math.

Letter Offering Nassau Hall to Congress.

Colonel Morgan had meanwhile been scouring the village in search of accommodations for Congress. As the half-way stop for all the coach lines between New York and Philadelphia, Princeton had always boasted excellent taverns, and more or less satisfactory accommodations could without doubt have been found in them. But tavern life had few charms to gentlemen who had been driven from Philadelphia partly by their too easy accessibility. Colonel Morgan therefore made investigations which resulted in President Boudinot's receiving two letters. The first was from Elias Woodruff, a prominent local merchant and sometime quartermaster at Princeton during the war.

To His Excellency the President of Congress

Whereas proposals have been made to me by some Gentlemen of this Town for my Dwelling House for the use of Congress I do therefore beg leave to offer it for that purpose on the following conditions.

That I will put the house in immediate repair and give possession in two Weeks at the Rent of One hundred pounds Currency per Year to be advanced quarterly, expecting to be paid for at least one quarter, should Congress think proper to leave it sooner than that Period.

Mr. Joline who now lives in part of the House, to be paid by Congress a reasonable Sum for the inconveniency of moving out, and to be allowed the value of his Garden and Grass Lott.

ELIAS WOODRUFF.[1]

Princeton 1 July 1783 —

The other letter Colonel Morgan wrote himself:

PRINCETON July 1st 1783.

Sir.

I find that Congress & their Servants can be accommodated with sixty Beds in this Village & Neighbourhood; And an Offer is made of the Buildings &c belonging to Messrs. Woodruff & Joline, opposite to the

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 24, p. 395.

College in which are two very large Rooms, either of which would dine forty Persons conveniently, beside six other good Rooms, some of them more than twenty feet Square; an excellent Cellar, two very good Kitchens, a back Building for Servants, a Stable, Garden & Pasture Lot.

An active capable useful Person also offers, to provide forty Covers, more or less, for Congress at a fix'd Rate & to procure or take Charge of their Liquors &c.

Should Congress think proper to erect any Buildings here, they shall be welcome to any Part of my Farm at the Valuation of any Gentlemen they may appoint; & my Neighbors are disposed in like Manner to accommodate Congress with what Ground may suit them, as far as two or three hundred Acres.

Should Congress determine to build, every Material, & Workmen, may be procured at the shortest Notice.

I am with great Respect,

your Excellency's

obedient humᵇˡᵉ Servant

GEO MORGAN.

His Excellency Elias Boudinot Esqʳᵉ.[1]

The "active capable person" referred to by Colonel Morgan was John Cape, the Trenton inn-keeper, at whose tavern a ball had taken place that April to celebrate the declaration of peace. He was on the point of giving up business in New Jersey, but saw here an opportunity which appealed to his caterer's instinct. This is the offer he made to Colonel Morgan:

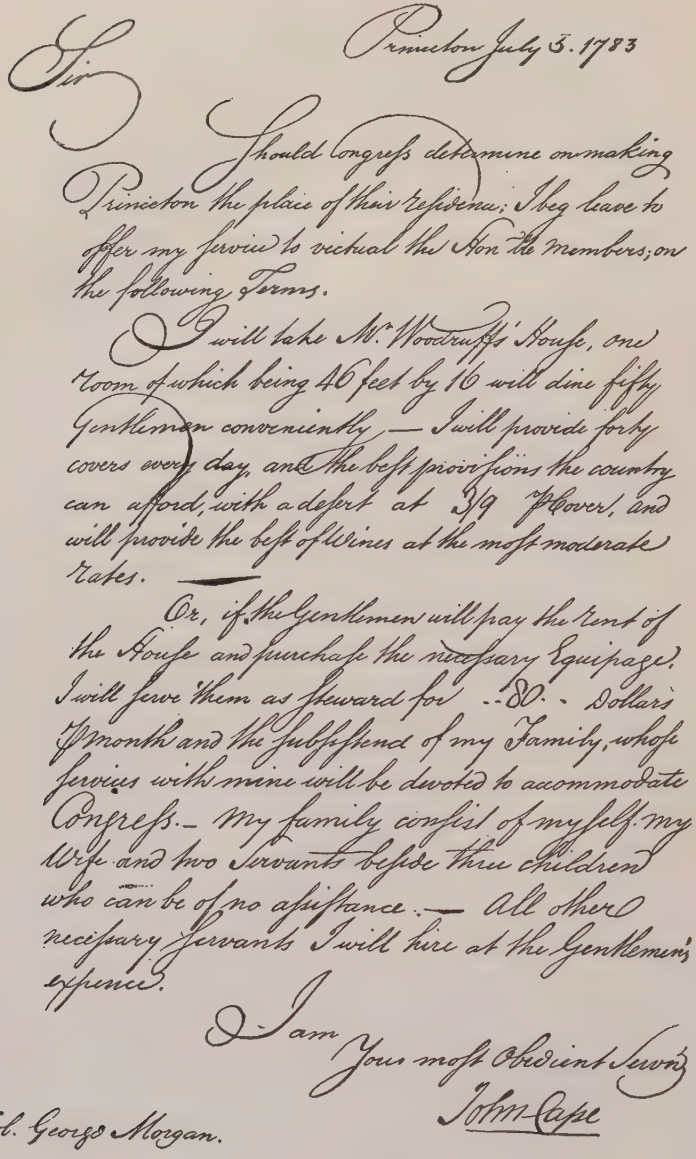
PRINCETON July 5, 1783.

Sir: —

Should Congress determine on making Princeton the place of their Residence; I beg leave to offer my service to victual the Honble Members; on the following Terms.

I will take Mr Woodruff's House, one Room of which being 46 feet by 16 will dine fifty Gentlemen conveniently. — I will provide forty covers every day, and the best provisions the country can afford, with a desert at 3/9

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 63.



Princeton July 3. 1783

Sir

Should Congress determine on making Princeton the place of their residence; I beg leave to offer my service to victual the Honble members; on the following Terms.

I will take M^r. Woodruff's House, one Room of which being 46 feet by 16 will dine fifty Gentlemen conveniently — I will provide forty covers every day, and the best provisions the country can afford, with a desert at 3/9 p^r Cover, and will provide the best of Wines at the most moderate Rates.

Or, if the Gentlemen will pay the Rent of the House and purchase the necessary Equipage. I will serve them as Steward for ..80.. Dollars p^r Month and the subsistence of my Family, whose services with mine will be devoted to accommodate Congress. — My family consists of myself, my Wife and two Servants beside three Children who can be of no assistance. — All other necessary Servants I will hire at the Gentlemen's expence.

I am Your most Obedient Servt

John Cape

Col. George Morgan.

JOHN CAPE'S OFFER TO CATER FOR CONGRESS.

Pr Cover, and will provide the best of Wines at the most moderate Rates. —

Or, if the Gentlemen will pay the Rent of the House and purchase the necessary Equipage, I will serve them as steward for 80 Dollars Pr month and the subsistence of my Family, whose services with mine will be devoted to accommodate Congress.— My family consist of myself, my Wife and two Servants beside three children who can be of no assistance. — All other necessary servants I will hire at the Gentlemen's expence.

I am

Your most Obedient Servnt

JOHN CAPE.

Col. George Morgan.

On the inside in Colonel Morgan's writing is this

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Cape says he means to make no Profit on the Liquors if he is allowed 3/9 pr Cover, but will buy them & act as a mere Steward therein —

He says he will have Fish Crabs and Lobsters at least three days in the Week — The Lobsters & Crabs to be brought to Princeton alive — He is determined to take the House immediately & to provide seven Beds in seven Rooms and will lodge & mess such a Number of Gentlemen of Congress only as will favor him with their Company.[1]

But Congress did not rent Mr. Woodruff's house; nor did Mr. Cape's epicurean plan "to victual the Honble members" appeal to them, and it had to be given up by its author, as we learn from a letter of Anthony Joline to Colonel John Beatty.[2]

President Boudinot made his temporary headquarters at "Morven," but no clue to the lodging places of his col-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 59. This document is addressed to "Colonel George Morgan Princeton" and is endorsed "J. Cape's offer to victual Congress July 5th, 1783."

[2] Dated at Princeton, July 17th. See Hageman, Vol. 2, p. 42. John Cape in October became proprietor of the "noted House and Stables, formerly called Hull's, but during the War, Roubalet's Tavern" on Broadway, New York, near the ferry then "called Paulus-Hook." (*Royal Gazette*, Oct. 22d, 1783.)

leagues has been discovered. They were scattered through the village; and although the average number of Congressmen in Princeton at a given time during the summer as shown by the yea-and-nay votes recorded in the Journal was only twenty-two, and although sixty beds were at their disposal, yet the accommodations appear to have been by no means adequate. Some of the members were accompanied by their wives and servants, and the presence of these additional new-comers, together with that of a perpetual stream of visitors, complicated the lodging problem. James Madison, whose Southern upbringing had given him larger ideas of comfort than any Jersey rural lodgings could satisfy, was sorely tried by the narrowness of his Princeton quarters. He had met with difficulty in getting any at all, and when at last he and his colleague, Mr. Jones, secured a room they found things too crowded for comfort or for the dispatch of business. Madison grumbled exceedingly that he and Jones had to share one bed in a room not ten feet square, and worse than all, "without a single accomodation for writing," save, as he complains to Jefferson, "in a position that scarcely admits the use of any of my limbs."[1]

Dissatisfaction with local accomodations is a familiar plaint in all the letters dated from Princeton during the summer by members of Congress. Even President Boudinot, who was living with his sister, Mrs. Stockton, found the arrangement ill-advised, and after less than a month of life at "Morven" sent the following communication to Congress:

The President begs leave to inform Congress, that the present Situation of his Family is extremely disagreeable as well as unnecessarily expensive to the united States, two Households being kept up instead of one — That he cannot remain here in reputation much longer, without

[1] See his letters to his father August 30th, to Edmund Randolph, August 30th, and to Thomas Jefferson, September 20th, etc.

removing the Family and Furniture from Philadelphia to this Town, which he intends doing without delay, if not disagreeable to Congress, and which he thought it necessary previously to acquaint them with.

A House should be provided in this Town, and it will be a considerable saving in the expenses, to give up the House in Philadelphia —

The President wishes that a Committee may be appointed to consider & report on this Subject or some other Measure taken for the Purpose more agreeable to Congress.

Princeton July 21. 1783.[1]

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Williamson, Izard, and Clarke, was accordingly appointed, and on August 11th reported:

That as it is inexpedient for the President to keep more than one House at the public Expence such House should be near the Place where Congress sits

And that [the President] He write to the Superintendent of Finance to give up the House in which the President lately lived in Philadelphia.[2]

The two following memoranda undoubtedly refer to the same matter, though undated and lacking other identifying marks:

Resolved that the president take a house proper for his accomodation.[3]

and

till congress can be informed of the rent of the presidents house in Philad[a] and the time for wh[ch] it is engaged.[4]

But Boudinot found the selection of a suitable house in Princeton no easy task, as another communication sent to Congress on September 1st shows:

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 59, Vol. 3, p. 59.

[2] The bracketed words are struck out and "He" inserted.

[3] *Ibid.*, 23, p. 359; also Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 272.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23, p. 361. The rent of the Philadelphia house for the previous year was $866.60 and taxes on the same were $291.10 (*ibid.*, 23, p. 367).

The President desires to inform Congress that agreeably to the reference made to him on the day of he has done all in his power to procure a House for his residence in this Town, in order to remove his Family from Philadelphia and to give up the House there; but hitherto has not been able to succeed — He thinks it is his duty to give this information to Congress, as the reason of his Conduct in not complying with their wishes & to wait their further orders.

Princeton Sept. 1. 1783.[1]

Three weeks later Elias Woodruff, who had offered his house to Congress when Colonel Morgan was seeking accommodations in June, made an offer to Mr. Boudinot in the following terms:

Proposals from Elias Woodruff of Princeton to Congress for renting his house for the use of the President.

Elias Woodruff doth propose to finish off his dwelling house as soon as possible & he will rent the same to Congress for the use of the President for the space of three months; and will give possession on any day after the 26th Instant.

He expects to be paid by Congress for the rent of the said house at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum; and to receive at the time he gives possession one month's rent in advance.

In case he should not finish the upper & lower rooms of the east end of the house within one month after the President has taken possession of it, he will then receive as rent for that month six pounds, and the same for every month after while the President occupies it until they be finished; & after that time at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum as expressed above.

ELIAS WOODRUFF.

Princeton
September 18th 1783.[2]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 59, Vol. 3, p. 61. The blanks are in the manuscript, and should be filled by "11th" and "August."

[2] *Ibid.*, 78, Vol. 24, p. 409. Endorsement: "Proposals E. Woodruff / Sept. 18th, 1783, for renting his House to the President of Congress—"

Judging from a reference to this house in a statement of available quarters issued by the citizens of Princeton in October, when the probable departure of Congress began to be noised abroad, we are led to believe that Mr. Boudinot accepted Woodruff's offer.

Whatever discomforts the members of Congress may have had to suffer, there is no doubt that their advent was a boon to Princeton. It had leaped at a bound into national importance; from a "little obscure village" it had within the week "become the capital of America." And where the "almost perfect silence" of a country hamlet was wont to reign, now nothing was "to be seen or heard but the passing and rattling of wagons, coaches and chairs." To supply the metropolitan taste of Congressmen the produce of Philadelphia markets was brought up every week, with the result that the village street now echoed to the unfamiliar "crying about of pineapples, oranges, lemons, and every luxurious article both foreign and domestic."[1]

The proclamation calling Congress to Princeton had named Thursday the 26th as the date of the first meeting in the new residence, but owing to the fact that a quorum could not be obtained[2] no session took place until the following Monday, June 30th.

Contemporary authority is lacking for the commonly accepted statement that Congress sat in the college library-room.[3] The Journals of Congress, printed and

[1] H. C. Alexander, Life of J. A. Alexander, Vol. 1, p. 16, being letter of Ashbel Green, a senior in college, to his father, July 5th, 1783. Also *Independent Gazetteer*, November 1st, 1783.

[2] Madison to Edmund Randolph, Philadelphia, June 30th: "I left Princeton on friday evening when six States only had met. Rhode Isla[d] made a seventh on Saturday. To-day I suppose they will be on business." See also Morris' Diary, June 26th.

[3] The only allusion to this apartment that may be termed official is to be found in the endorsement of a committee report on the Indian question in August, where we read that the report was to be considered by a special committee "to meet this afternoon at 6 o'clock in the Library room." (Pap. Cont. Cong., 30, p. 27.)

manuscript, contain no specific reference to the place where the sessions were held; the minutes of the Trustees of the College are equally silent, while the records of the faculty, if they ever existed for that period, have long since disappeared. The circumstantial evidence in the case tends, I think, to show that the first few meetings of Congress at Princeton were not held in the college library-room, but in Colonel Morgan's farm-house. For it will be noticed that the address offering the use of Nassau Hall, the building which contained the library-room and also the chapel, or prayer-hall as it was then called, was dated June 26th. The endorsement shows that it was read in Congress on Monday the 30th at the first Princeton meeting. The Journal for the day makes no mention of the address, but from a manuscript "Committee Book" of Congress we learn that it was referred to Messrs. Read, McHenry, and Higginson,[1] who reported on July 2d.[2] If Congress were already occupying Nassau Hall on the 30th at the first meeting, it is surely incredible that an acknowledgment of the college courtesy — a courtesy so vital to administrative comfort and efficiency — would have been withheld until the third meeting. Indeed, there would have been no necessity for referring the address to a committee to consider the acceptance or refusal of the offer it contained; and that this was the object of such reference is evident from the wording of the resolution that ensued upon its report:

"An address of the governors and masters of the College was read, offering to Congress the use of the Hall, library room and every other convenience that the college in its present situation can Afford, Whereupon

"*Resolved* That the president inform the governors and

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 186, p. 109, recording the appointment of these gentlemen a committee on "Resolutions of Inhabitants of Trenton & Princeton & gov^rs of Nassau College and Note of Col. G. Morgan."

[2] *Ibid.*, 191, p. 41. See also *Journal* for July 2d.

"PROSPECT," PRINCETON, N. J, IN 1779

[*From the painting by Maria Templeton in possession of Mrs. Hughes Oliphant*]

and masters of the college that Congress entertain a proper sense of their obliging offer and accept the use of such parts of the College as are immediately necessary for their sessions and for the officers attending them during their stay at Princeton."[1]

The words of the last clause of Mr. Boudinot's letter in obedience to the resolution may also be construed in support of the view above stated.

The Rev[d] Mr. Smith
Professor &c in the College of Princeton
PRINCETON 3d July 1783

Rev[d] and Dear Sir

I take a peculiar pleasure in the honor of obeying the unanimous direction of Congress, in presenting their acknowledgment of the polite and respectful conduct of the Governor and Masters of the College, on their adjournment to this Town.

I cannot execute this agreeable business more effectually than by enclosing a copy of their act of yesterday, which fully explains their wishes.

I have the honor to be &c &c

E. B.[2]

The evidence favoring the view that "Prospect" was the scene of the opening meetings is more compelling in its strength. Congress had come to Princeton hastily and apparently without making any effort to ascertain definitely the practical accommodations of the village. Mr. Boudinot may have had Nassau Hall in his mind as a meeting place at the outset; but when Colonel Morgan, who was well acquainted in Congress, stated in his letter of the 25th that one of his buildings contained "a better room for them to meet in" than the members could be "immediately accommodated with elsewhere," Mr. Boudinot probably accepted the offer as at least a temporary arrangement. Furthermore in the list of available ac-

[1] *Journal*, July 2d.
[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 16, p. 207.

commodations issued in October by the citizens of Princeton, Colonel Morgan announces his willingness to have "the Congress Room" in his house fitted up for winter use if desired. It is difficult to explain this designation of any room at "Prospect" unless a previous occupation of it by Congress had given it a right to that title. Finally it is noted in a memorandum book of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, that the sheet of paper bearing the record of the distribution of ten sets of the Journal was lost "in removing the Office from the House of Col. Morgan to the College."[1] Unfortunately, this record is dated merely "1783"; but when half of the rooms in Nassau Hall were vacant it is altogether improbable, considering the close relation existing between the Secretary of Congress and that body itself, that he should have used Colonel Morgan's house as an office if Congress were sitting in Nassau Hall. It is easier to believe that he moved his belongings over to the college building because Congress was moving also.

We may, then, take it for granted that the first three meetings (June 30th, July 1st and 2d) were held in Colonel Morgan's house, and that thereafter the sessions were held in the college building — in the library room presumably, except on state occasions, when they were held in the prayer-hall. The library-room which had been stripped by the British was on the north side of the second floor over the main entrance, and was about thirty by twenty-four feet in size.[2] It opened on to the long central hall which ran through each floor from east to west. Behind it and across the hall was the door into the gallery of the chapel. The committees of Congress are said to have made use of the various rooms intended for students but at that time unoccupied.[3] The offices and papers of

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 181, folio 1.

[2] John Maclean in *Presbyterian Magazine*, Vol. 1 (1851), p. 96.

[3] Autobiography of A. Green, ed. J. H. Jones, p. 142.

the Paymaster General and of the Department of War had been brought up to Princeton and were stored in Nassau Hall until Colonel John Pierce, the Paymaster General, and Major Jackson, Assistant Secretary of War, obtained leave to take them back to Philadelphia.[1] The belongings of the Department of Finance had remained at the city, although Morris himself had left Philadelphia, as we have already seen. On the 30th of June Morris went to Princeton from Trenton and there wrote to Mr. Boudinot asking if he might return to Philadelphia. The President on the same day voiced the somewhat ungracious answer of Congress:

PRINCETON 30th June 1783.

The Honble Robert Morris, Esq.

Sir,

I have the honor of informing you, that I laid your letter of this morning before Congress, and as there was no entry on our Journals relating to your leaving the City they thought it sufficient to direct me to inform you, that they had no objections to you returning to Philadelphia and resuming the business of your department. On this information I doubt not but that you will immediately proceed to the City accordingly.

I shall be glad of a line now and then, if anything turns up worth communicating.

I have the honor &c

E. B.[2]

And on July 1st Morris set out for Philadelphia, arriving there the next day.[3]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong. 165, p. 665; and 149, Vol. 3, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, 16, p. 21.

[3] Diary.

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCETON SESSION BEGINS

THREE leading questions presented themselves to the immediate consideration of Congress when President Boudinot called it to order at "Prospect" on the morning of the 30th: the payment and disbandment of the army, the solution of the peace establishment problem, and the selection of a permanent federal residence for the government. There were, of course, many other matters obviously demanding attention, as, for instance, the foreign relations of the United States, the relations with the Indians, and in particular, the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation to the new era; but these questions had not the special claims of urgency and of prominence gained from recent events that made the others the chief bones of contention during the rest of the summer.

Before even the three leading questions could be approached, however, the mutiny had to be considered. As a matter of immediate concern, and one on which Congress was practically unanimous, it was taken up without delay, and when on June 30th Alexander Hamilton moved[1] that Major General Robert Howe be sent to Philadelphia with a detachment to bring the mutineers sharply to their senses, the motion was at once referred to a committee consisting of its maker, Oliver Ellsworth, and Theodoric Bland. But that afternoon General Howe, with 1,500 New England troops — three regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery — sent by Washington from headquarters at Newburgh in response to President Boudinot's letter of the 21st, arrived in the neigh-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Vol. 4, p. 167.

borhood of Princeton to halt for a much needed twenty-four hours' rest. The detachment had left Newburgh on the 25th, camping that night at Forest Dean, eight miles from West Point. It had then proceeded to Ringwood, where a halt was made for the night of the 26th.[1] The march was continued via Pompton and Morristown. What with the rough roads through the Jersey mountains, the heat of the weather, the want of shoes, and the lack of provisions and medical attendance, the condition of the men was anything but happy. General Howe informed Washington of his arrival at Princeton the next day.

Prince Town 1st of July 1783.

Sir

I arrived yesterday with the Troops within four Miles of this Place where they will halt until twelve to Night —

The President of Congress having inform'd me that he has given your Excellency particular Account of the Operations of the Mutineers & the Proceedings of the Executive of Pennsylvania thereupon as well as the Steps taken by Congress in consequence thereof, I shall not trouble you Sir with repeating the Details —

A Committee has been appointed by Congress with which I have had two Conferences, & as far as I can gather from them the Intention of Congress Appears to be a Determination to search this Matter to the Bottom — & to punish if possible both in civil & military Line the Persons principally concern'd in the Mutiny — in which they conceive their own Dignity & that of Government to be deeply wounded — The ultimate Views of Congress I expect to Know this Eves & shall instantly convey to your Excellency —

I shall move with the Troops for Trenton at twelve to-Night — where about half of them will be left for the present, at least that Number being in a Situation hardly fit to proceed — Our March was attended with every Difficulty which could result from excessive Heat, Want of

[1] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 266, and Pap. Cont. Cong., 152, Vol. 2, p. 385, Washington to Boudinot, June 25th.

Provisions & of Shoes — — Many of the Men have been & are ill — & more I expect will be — Only one Surgeon is with us, & he is without Medicines — should it be thought by Congress necessary for us to remain any Time here it would I believe be requisite to order up one of the Gentlemen of the Hospital & all the regimental Surgeons — the latter indeed have been ordered already —

I hope to be enabled to write more explicitly to your Excellency even by this Opportunity — tho' fearing it might go before I was further inform'd I thought it my Duty to write this much —

I have been inform'd that the Residue of Jackson's Reg[t] were not to march & I am very glad it has happened but lest that should not be true I have obtain'd Permission & shall remand them myself which I hope will meet your Excellency's Approbation.

I have the honor to be
with the greatest Respect
Sir
Your Excellency's
most obedient servant
Rob[t] Howe.[1]

Hamilton's committee reported that afternoon, and it was resolved that General Howe be directed to proceed to Philadelphia with such part of his force as he might deem necessary to "confine and bring to trial all such persons belonging to the army as have been principally active in the late mutiny, to disarm the remainder, and to examine fully into all the circumstances relating thereto." And if, in the execution of the resolution, anything should arise that concerned the civil authorities, or required their aid, General Howe was empowered to apply to the State Executive of Pennsylvania for co-operation. It was also resolved that the State Executive be informed of General Howe's orders and requested to render him any necessary assistance.

[1] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 272–3.

The fear of the majority to give offense to private individuals is revealed in the vague manner in which the suspected civilian connection with the mutiny is alluded to in the resolution as it was finally passed. The committee had stated it more bluntly: "And in case, in the progress of the investigation, it should appear that any persons not belonging to the army have been concerned in promoting or abetting the disorder of the soldiery, that application be made to the civil authority of the State to proceed against them as the law shall direct." This was tempered into an innocuous generality. The paragraph directing that the State Executive of Pennsylvania be informed of General Howe's orders was a courteous touch added by President Boudinot himself, and the clause was inserted in the manuscript by his own hand.[1]

A copy of the resolution was given to General Howe that evening, and he promptly forwarded it to Washington with a second letter, whose more than usually impossible chirography in the manuscript testifies eloquently to its author's haste.

Late at night 1st July 1783.

Sir,

The enclos'd Resolution of Congress has been just now handed me & the Express sets off in a moment, fuller Instructions are to be given me. my situation appears to me to be critical, much seems to me Expected from me & whatever I do may on our side be thought too little, on the other too much, for unhappily Congress & the state of Pennsylvania (at least the Executive of it) differ widely in sentiments. An Exact detail of Every thing I do, or mean to do should I have time to transcribe it previously to its Execution shall be Convey'd to my General, whose advice, Instructions & Commands it will be my pride and happiness to follow and obey. Many of the mutineers have been furlough'd contrary to the inclination of Congress, and many of them, as it is said, some of the most atrocious Offenders. There is something in the Conduct

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 21, p. 355.

of those Even of character so mysterious as to have excited suspicion, but as nothing Certain can as yet be obtain'd I shall not arraign them. The Express waits and is in such a hurry to set off that I have not time to have this letter Copied which I beg of you to be so good as to Excuse

I have the honour to be
With the greatest Respect sir your Excellency's
most ob^{t}
hum^{ble} serv^{t}
ROB^{t} HOWE.[1]

After the express had left with this dispatch General Howe pushed on to Trenton, and there spent the night of July 2nd; but while his detachment was crossing the Delaware the next day he wrote again to Washington:

TRENTON July 3rd 1783.

Sir,

The troops halted at this place last night and are now crossing the river for Philadelphia. Though Congress in their Resolution seem to leave me the Judge of the number requisite to the purposes they have in view, yet the committee of Congress, with whom I was directed to confer gave it as their opinion upon my report to them of the numbers I had with me, that there were not more than they thought sufficient. They appear to have in view among other objects the tryal of both officers and men by general court martial many circumstances seeming to indicate to them that several of the former, beside those who have escaped have been at the bottom of this unhappy affair. When I last did myself the honor of writing your Excellency I purposed leaving part of the men here; but Colonel Pickering (upon my desiring him to examine) having reported to me that no possible shelter could be found them; and as I expect waggons or boats to convey those who cannot march I thought it more prudent to take them all on — Not only because it would be more convenient to the men than to stay here; but because I had reason to apprehend that a return of some

[1] Letters to Washington 63, folio 274.

at this crisis would be dissatisfactory to those remaining and in the service we are upon this circumstance is worth attending to. As soon as I get up I shall hasten to a conclusion of this business by every possible means, which duty, inclination, and my private interest combine to induce me to finish with the greatest expedition. I write this letter by a casual conveyance having nothing at present worth transmitting by express.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient
very humble Servant
Rob[t] Howe[1]

Near Trenton he met General St. Clair coming to Princeton, and from him he received the latest information as to the situation at Philadelphia.[2]

The unfortunate condition of his troops was temporarily mitigated during the next two days, thanks to the suggestion of the Congressional committee; for it was undoubtedly owing to the representations of Messrs. Hamilton, Ellsworth, and Bland that President Boudinot was empowered to write to Major Jackson:

The President of Congress presents his respectful compliments to the Assistant Secretary at War, and informs him, that it is the Sense of the Members of Congress present here, making seven States, that the detachment under Gen[l] Howe be furnished with an additional Ration of Rum for the 3d and 4th days of July instant. It is meant an additional Ration for each day.

Princeton 2d July 1783.[3]

The passage of these troops through Princeton gave rise to a rumor which found utterance in the New York *Royal Gazette* for July 12th to the effect that five hundred men of the Massachusetts Line, with a number of Jersey troops and eight pieces of cannon, were guarding Congress in its new abode.

[1] Letters to Washington 63, folio 290. (Signed, not written, by Howe.)
[2] Ibid., 63, folio 287, St. Clair to Washington, Princeton, July 2d.
[3] Pap. Cont. Cong. 16, p. 204.

The detachment reached Philadelphia on Saturday, July 5th, and tents having been procured, camp was pitched near Germantown, two miles from the city limits. With the city itself little or no communication was allowed. General Howe immediately took step to institute his court-martial; but in his report to Washington of July 7th[1] he already regrets that he has so little means of investigation, and he hopes that the suggestion he had previously made to the effect that a Judge Advocate should attend the court-martial may be carried out. The history of the court-martial will be narrated later, when the September report thereon comes to our notice. At present affairs at Princeton claim attention.

On July 1st, after General Howe's instructions had been passed, the report of Hamilton and Ellsworth on the mutiny was delivered and was spread in full on the Journal. The next day, in view of the proximity of Howe's detachment, Mercer, seconded by Hamilton, moved, although the Journal does not show it, that Congress adjourn to meet again at Philadelphia on a date to be selected[2]; but Congress was not willing to return just yet, and a substitute motion offered by Mr. Izard and seconded by Mr. Higginson, who had no love for Philadelphia, expressed more accurately general Congressional sentiment:

"The Authority of Congress having been grossly insulted by a body of armed Soldiers, on the 21st Ult°., in Philadelphia, & repeated applications having been made, without effect, to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, for protection against similar insults, Resolved that until Congress shall receive satisfactory assurances of protection, it will neither be safe, or honourable for them to return to Philadelphia.[3]

[1] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 302.
[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Vol. 4, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, 36, Vol. 2, pp. 163 and 165.

Mr. Mercer's rejected motion was the first of several attempts made during the summer to get Congress back to the Pennsylvania capital. It was probably inspired by Hamilton, in whose handwriting the original manuscript of the motion is to be found, and who had only with reluctance advised departure from the city. At this early date he perceived very clearly that, apart from the fact that by the presence of General Howe's detachment the avowed purpose of the removal to Princeton was now accomplished, namely, that more effectual measures might be taken for suppressing the revolt and maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States, the chief drawback to a continued session at Princeton would be the increased difficulty to obtain a quorum. Accordingly, when Mercer's motion failed of support he himself, with James Madison seconding it, offered another, which met with favor, and ordered that the States not present in Congress "be informed that it is indispensable they should without loss of time send forward a delegation to Congress."[1] According to the Articles of Confederation seven States represented by at least two members each constituted a quorum in general matters, nine States similarly represented being required in matters of prime importance. On at least seven occasions during the first six weeks of the stay of Congress at Princeton it was impossible to get any quorum, and it is really with a feeling of surprise that we read, after encountering four of these occasions within six days, that nine States were actually got together on July 29th when the treaty with Sweden was considered, adopted and ratified. Attendance improved during the summer and autumn, and not a little of the credit for this improvement may be ascribed to the effort begun by Hamilton's motion of July 2d.

After the motion was passed Governor Livingston's

[1] *Journal*, July 2d.

letter of June 24th was read, and it was resolved, on report of the committee to whom it had been referred, that the President inform the Governor of the State of New Jersey that Congress entertained a "high sense of the Spirit and Attachment of the Citizens of New Jersey to the Federal Union and of the Sentiments expressed by his Excellency," and that Congress was "happy that events have rendered the Call of the Citizens into service Unnecessary."[1] The address of the college was read and the report of Messrs. Read, McHenry and Higginson, the committee on the address, was delivered, and accordingly the resolution already quoted accepting the use of Nassau Hall was passed.[2] The Honorable John Cox's letter containing the Trenton resolutions was then read, and President Boudinot was ordered to inform Mr. Cox of the "just sentiments" entertained by Congress of the "respectful Manner in which the Inhabitants of Trenton and its Vicinity express themselves in their Resolves of the Twenty fourth of June last with respect to Congress. That Congress highly Applaud the proper Resentment the Citizens of Trenton and its Vicinity have discovered against disturbers of the public peace and Violators of the dignity of the Union—."[3]

The Journal contains no entry for July 3d but from a letter of Robert Morris to James Milligan, Comptroller of the Treasury, it appears that Congress sat, for the Financier states that on that day was referred to him by Congress a resolution of the Assembly of Virginia, dated June

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 20, Vol. 2, p. 301. The following personal paragraph was struck out of the report: "And are obliged by the Readiness expressed by his Excellency, the Governor, to be personally engaged in defending the Representatives of the United States against every Insult and Indignity." The report is dated "Princeton 2nd July, 1783," and endorsed as delivered, entered and passed on that date.

[2] *Ibid.*, 186, p. 191.

[3] *Ibid.*, 20, Vol. 2, p. 299.

4th, to investigate the contracts entered into by his office.[1] At any rate the session on July 3d was short and unimportant, although a letter which President Boudinot wrote to Washington that evening must be quoted:

PRINCETON July 3d, 1783.

Dear Sir

General S^t^. Clair is now here, and this moment suggests an Idea which he had desired me to mention to your Excellency, as a Matter of Importance in his View of the Matter in the intended Inquiry at Philadelphia.— That the Judge Advocate should be directed to attend the Inquiry — By this Means the Business would be conducted with most Regularity — The Inquiry might be more critical, and as several of the Officers are in Arrest, perhaps a Person not officially engaged, may Consider himself in an invidious Situation — It is late at Night, and no possibility of obtaining the Sense of Congress, and therefore your Excellency will consider this as the mere Suggestion of an individual & use your own Pleasure.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem & Respect

Your Excellency's
Most Obed Hble Servt
ELIAS BOUDINOT[2]

His Excellency Genl Washington —

In deference to this suggestion and the similar one from General Howe, Washington on July 7th ordered Judge Advocate Edwards to repair at once to Philadelphia.[3]

On July 4th the meeting was also brief, but not too brief for the transaction of interesting local and important public business. The manuscript Journal records the first as follows:

Certain resolutions passed by the inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity being laid before Congress & read

[1] Letter Book E, p. 396.

[2] Letters to Washington, 92, folio 251.

[3] Letters of Washington B, Vol. 16, pt. 2, No. 207.

Resolved That Congress highly applaud the resolutions of the inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity to support order and good government; that Congress entertain a proper sense of their affectionate & respectful expressions and are obliged by their exertions to accommodate the representatives of the United States.[1]

This resolution constituted the report delivered that morning by the committee to whom the Princeton address of June 26th had been referred. Mr. Boudinot accordingly took time to write that day to Dr. Smith and Colonel Morgan, of the town committee:

PRINCETON July 4, 1783.

THE REV^{d}. M^{r}. SMITH & COLO. GEORGE MORGAN.

Gentlemen,

Among the agreeable duties of my office, it is not the least to make known the approbation of Congress to those worthy Citizens of the United States, whose conduct entitles them to extraordinary marks of it, on particular occasions. Be assured, Gentlemen, that I take a singular pleasure in communicating to you the applause of Congress on the patriotic Resolutions of the Inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity, in support of order and good Government, as contained in the address presented to Congress by you on the day ; and particularly their high sense of the polite attention of those worthy Citizens to the accommodation of Congress on the sudden emergency of their adjournment to this Town.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.[2]

And in obedience to an order of Congress which does not appear in the Journal, and of which the original manuscript has not been found, he also sent this letter to Colonel Morgan, whose communication of June 25th had been referred to Messrs. Read, McHenry and Hig-

[1] *Journal*, July 4th, and Pap. Cont. Cong., 20, Vol. 2, p. 295.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 16, p. 207. The blanks are in the letter book and should be filled by "26th" and "of June" respectively.

ginson, together with the Trenton and the two Princeton addresses.

PRINCETON 4 July 1783.

COL. GEORGE MORGAN.

Sir,

I am honored by the commands of Congress to signify to you their acceptance of the use of any of your Buildings that may be indispensably necessary for public offices; and to express their high sense of your kind offers of service and attention to their accommodation and convenience.

I have the honor to be &c

E. B.[1]

On July 4th also, Baron Steuben waited on Congress with a letter from Washington[2] dated June 30th, recommending that the bearer be sent to receive possession of the western posts to be evacuated by the British. The letter was immediately given over to James Madison, Oliver Ellsworth and Benjamin Hawkins, who reported the same day, approving of Washington's plan, and handed to the baron a copy of a previous resolution by which they assured him Congress intended to give Washington full power to negotiate with the British Commander in Canada, and also to send such troops for the occupation of evacuated posts as he might deem necessary; and on the strength of this assurance Steuben at once dispatched his aid, Captain North, to Robert Morris at Philadelphia for funds to cover the expenses of the trip which he then without success undertook.[3]

A report from Robert Morris[4] dated June 22nd, in obedience to an order of Congress of June 20th, directing him to inform Congress what obstacles were imped-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., p. 203.

[2] *Ibid.*, 152, Vol. 11, p. 389; Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 459.

[3] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 296, Steuben to Washington July 5th, from Kingston on the Millstone, where he had arrived July 3d.

[4] Letter Book E, p. 383.

ing the settlement of the army accounts, was also read on the Fourth. It appeared from the report of the Committee of the Whole of January 25th, that the memorial from the army contained five points for consideration: present pay, settlement of accounts of arrears in pay with security for the balance, commutation of half pay, settlement of accounts of deficiencies in rations and compensation, and settlement of accounts of deficiencies in clothing and compensation. As regards the second point, settlement was provided for by the resolution of January 25th, leaving it in the hands of the Superintendent of Finance. No provision had been made for the fourth and fifth points. Morris said that he had directed the Paymaster-General to make the settlements referred to the Financier as aforesaid. The delay was due to a want of authority, and also to the difficulty of obtaining an account of the advances made to the officers of the line by the States and the public departments. In order, however, to obviate this difficulty and any others similar to it that might arise, he suggested a resolution which was straightway passed, whereby the Paymaster-General was

"authorized and empowered to settle and finally adjust all accounts whatsoever, between the United States, and the officers and soldiers of the American army, so as to include all and every demand which they or either of them may have by virtue of the several resolutions and acts of Congress relating thereto."

And he was further directed to give certificates of sums due on these settlements in such form and manner as Morris might desire, with the proviso that the certificates of officers should be withheld until returns of payments or advances made to them by the States or public departments should be received.

General Pierce, the Paymaster General, lost no time in obeying these instructions, and adopted the speediest

method of getting at his data by communicating with Washington at headquarters:

PRINCETON, July 4, 1783.

Dr Sir

Congress having this day empowered me fully to settle & finally adjust all accounts whatsoever between the United States & the Officers & Soldiers of the Army you will much oblige me to have inserted in the general orders —

That the Paymasters make as soon as possible regimental returns of the Cloathing due to the respective Regiments in the Army, signed by themselves & some commanding Officer of the Regiment when such certificate can be obtained. The Paymasters can have the forms of these accounts at my office.

That returns be also made out immediately and lodged in my Office of the Officers who are, or may be entitled to Commutation on the discharge of the Army.

And also like returns of the Non Commissioned Officers, & Privates who are or may be entitled to the 80 dols gratuity.

In haste I am Dr Sir
Yours sincerely
JNO PIERCE[1]

Business over, Congress adjourned, and after luncheon the members in a body attended the more interesting exercises of the day.

The Fourth of July was regularly celebrated in Princeton by public exercises of some kind. Usually they consisted of a speech delivered on one of the tavern greens, after which there was the customary punch, followed by a dinner and more punch. This year the day was marked by a distinct novelty, which had been advertised with a flourish in the *New Jersey Gazette:*

Princeton, June 20, 1783. The Anniversary of the Independence of America will be celebrated in the College

[1] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 293.

by two orations delivered by young gentlemen, appointed for that purpose, by the two *literary societies* established in the institution; in which they propose, not only to pay the tribute that is due to their country from youth engaged in the pursuits of science, but to emulate each other in the opinion of a polite assembly, for the honour of their respective *societies*.[1]

The Journal contains no reference to the anniversary, and contemporary newspaper accounts have eluded search, but from Ashbel Green's autobiography,[2] and his letter to his father, already mentioned, we can reconstruct the programme of the day's celebration.

It began at 1 o'clock in the afternoon with a salute of thirteen guns fired on the front campus. Then the oratorical contest between the two representatives of the college literary societies, the Cliosophic and the American Whig, took place in the college chapel. The orators were Ashbel Green, representing the American Whig Society, who spoke on "The Superiority of a Republican Form of Government," and Gilbert Tennent Snowden of the Cliosophic Society, the subject of whose oration is not known. Both of the speakers were seniors. After the intellectual feast was over, it would have been entirely contrary to precedent if the company had not adjourned to the Sign of the College or to Hudibras Inn to do justice to the punch that Christopher Beekman and Jacob Hyer always prepared for their guests on Independence Day. At six o'clock President Boudinot welcomed to a banquet at "Morven" between seventy and eighty guests, among whom were the members of Congress, the French Minister M. de la Luzerne, the faculty of the College, the two undergraduate orators of the day and prominent gentlemen of the town and neighborhood. After dinner President Boudinot proposed the usual thirteen toasts, each

[1] *New Jersey Gazette*, June 25th, 1783.

[2] *Life of Ashbel Green*, ed. by Jones, p. 142.

of which was accompanied by a discharge of artillery. Later in the evening there was a display of fireworks on the front campus, a feature so successful that it was repeated the next night. Young Green got back to his room in Nassau Hall just as the nine o'clock curfew was ringing in the college belfry. The next four days are a blank in the Journals of Congress.

When on Wednesday, July 9th, Secretary Thomson did resume his record, we find the sitting enlivened by a motion offered by Mr. Higginson, and seconded by Mr. Holten, both of Massachusetts, which led to two days' sharp debate and resulted in increased friction between the Superintendent of Finance and his Congressional superiors. It was only the day before this (July 8th) that Morris had written to William C. Houston, Continental Receiver of Taxes for New Jersey: "My situation is indeed deplorable, for the states seem all to lessen their exertions, while I am compelled to increase my engagements."[1] The motion of July 9th ordered Morris to direct the Continental Receiver for Massachusetts to disburse to soldiers and officers of the Massachusetts line discharged on furlough one year's pay out of monies receivable from that state on the account of the requisition of 1782. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina and Abraham Clark of New Jersey at once moved that the motion be committed, to which Mr. Higginson replied by demanding the yeas and nays, and Williamson's motion was lost. Debate continued until an adjournment was called for and agreed to. The next day the original motion came up again and its opponents succeeded in having it turned over to a committee. President Boudinot named Bland of Virginia, Fitzsimmons of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Higginson, and their report, considerably altering the original motion, was ready the next day, July 11th. Mr. Holten, not liking

[1] Letter Book E, p. 394.

the amended form of the resolution, endeavored to have it tabled in favor of the original motion, and in this he was seconded by Mr. Higginson, who was evidently a minority in the committee, but the States voted against him six to two. The report then coming up, it was unanimously resolved that:

WHEREAS the officers and soldiers of the Massachusetts line who have lately been retired on furlough, have not received the pay which was formerly directed; And whereas it is the wish of Congress to do equal justice to all the officers and soldiers of the continental army:

Resolved unanimously, That the superintendent of finance be and he is hereby directed to complete without delay, the same payments to the offiers and soldiers of the Massachusetts line, which were ordered to be paid to the army at large.

The report had contained another clause which directed Morris to order the receivers of taxes to accept his notes and those of Treasurer Hillegas in payment of the taxes, and to publish this order immediately in the newspapers; but it was voted to refer this to Morris with the injunction to report what measures he had taken to pay off the army. Then Mr. Higginson, with a persistence which shows very clearly his personal animus, moved that Morris report why the troops lately furloughed did not receive their pay previous to furlough, as Congress had in tended, and also to report by what measures he expected to redeem the notes he had already issued or might thereafter issue to the troops, which had been or might thereafter be furloughed under the resolution of May 26th. These pointed and ungenerous questions stirred the indignation of the Financier, and also gave him opportunities which he was not slow to improve.

Replying to the order to direct the Continental Receivers to accept his and Hillegas' notes in payment of

taxes, and to report what steps he had taken toward paying off the army, he wrote on July 15th[1] that the receivers had long ago received such orders; that when the payment of the army was contemplated he had told the committee that it could be done only in his notes and that in order to support their credit such notes must be receivable for taxes in every state by the Continental Receivers and exchanged just like all others issued from his office; that this instruction was a matter of common knowledge to those who knew anything about the business, and that in consequence the practice was already a general one; that as soon as the receivers found it difficult to obtain such notes they would naturally advertise for them in the newspapers; that if on the one hand the proposed notice in the papers were intended to be confined to army pay notes it would injure the credit of all others, and if it were intended for all notes, being a procedure already customary, it would be a useless expenditure of money in needless advertising. As for the steps he had already taken to pay off the army, he merely remarked that on an estimate from the War Office he had signed warrants for four months' pay, whereof one month had been paid in specie and three months in notes to non-commissioned officers and privates, while commissioned officers had received all four months in notes. The Paymaster General had not yet received all the notes required, but had in hand as many as he needed just then.

This letter, with the resolution that gave it birth, was referred on July 18th to Messrs. Bland, Higginson and McHenry,[2] who expressed the belief in a subsequent report (July 30th) that the expense of advertising was of small moment when compared with the value of the gen-

[1] Letter Book E, p. 414, Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 500. Morris had written the day before to the Governor of Massachusetts about the proposed action of the Massachusetts legislature.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 26, p. 448.

eral information designed by the resolution of the 11th; and they therefore offered a resolution that Morris publish such part of his instructions to the receivers as related to their being authorized and instructed to accept his notes in payment of taxes, and also to take up all such notes wherever they had public money in their hands.[1]

Mr. Fitzsimmons had gone to Philadelphia on the 14th to see Morris about the matter, and had "had a pretty long conference"[2] with him, the result of which was the above resolution. Congress spent most of the 30th and all of the 31st debating and amending it, and then passed it with a simple inversion of its phraseology.

On July 18th Morris addressed to President Boudinot his reply to the other motion of the 11th. He appealed to the candor of Congress how far, after considering the facts, censure of his conduct was warranted, and the rest of his letter is a spirited reminder to Congress of the solemn promises of support which alone had induced him to reconsider his decision when in the preceding April he was about to resign. He gives a synopsis of his official correspondence since that time, shows that the paper for the notes was delayed by the makers, tells how he signed six thousand notes in six days, and reminds Congress that he himself had asserted the impossibility of settling the army's accounts unless other expenditures were cut down and the States forwarded their tax quotas. As for the future, he is compelled to rely on the promises of Congress to enforce the taxes.[3]

This letter was sent to the same committee, Messrs. Bland, McHenry and Higginson, who took over a month for its consideration, and then produced a sharp response with a resolution that the Financier hereafter submit to

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 4, p. 409. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 20th, etc., for notice as published.

[2] Diary, July 14th.

[3] Letter Book E, p. 422; Sparks Dipl. Corr., Vol. 12, p. 380.

Congress all his plans of payment before carrying them out, so that they might undergo revision — or at least supervision — before being put into execution. "Your Committee are fully satisfied that no time was lost in completing the Signing the Notes for the Payment of the troops after the measure was Concluded upon — but they are of opinion that on so important and Perilous a Step as the furloughing the Troops Congress sh[d]. have been fully apprized (after they had pledged their faith that no part of the army sh[d]. be disbanded without a Settlement of their accounts and a certain part of their pay being advanced to them) — of the difficulty or impracticability of doing the one or advancing the other in due time — that so the furloughing might have been suspended for a short time whereby in all probability the Subsequent Tumult and discontents in the Army might have been avoided — but this was not done."[1]

The report of which the above is merely one paragraph was read, but no action was taken on it. Perhaps the better judgment in Congress concluded that as the result of a month's deliberation it was disappointing.

The dominant thoughts in Robert Morris' mind at this trying period were the want of money and his lack of public support. Under July 30th in his diary is this entry: "Being in great distress for want of money Mr. Morris[2] and myself spent much time in considering ways and means, but as yet unsuccessfully." On August 20th he writes to George Olney, Receiver of Taxes for Rhode Island, that he fears "the states will turn a deaf ear to all applications. Where all this is to end God knows." One of the first effects would be, he thought, the dissolution of the Confederation, and what then — whether a new and better bond, or total anarchy, "time alone could

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 4, p. 415.

[2] Gouverneur Morris.

tell."[1] To Washington, on August 12th, he says: "I am always happy to hear from you altho' I confess that every new Demand for Money makes me shudder."[2]

Added to this financial distress was his knowledge that he was disliked and distrusted by a great part of the public and hated by many members of Congress. In his letter of August 19th to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, speaking of his own successor, he says: "But all other things out of the question, there is such a Disposition among Men to traduce and vilify that no prudent Man will risk a fair Reputation by holding an Office so important as mine."[3] And on August 12th he declares to the Paymaster General that it is becoming impossible to serve a people who convert everything into ground for calumny, and he feels the necessity of quitting at the earliest possible moment an office of incessant labor and anxiety whose only reward is obloquy.[4]

The arrival of Arthur Lee in July to take his seat in Congress did not mean the arrival of a friend. In less than a month Lee had made five motions, all of which showed a spiteful interest in the affairs of the Finance Department, and must have added exceedingly to the labors of its head.

Some conception of the opposition that Morris had to contend with in Congress may be gathered from a letter written by a member of that body early in August. It reached the hands of Sir Guy Carleton and was sent by him to Lord North to give the latter an idea of the wrangling that pervaded the councils of the young republic. It is full of peevish complaint of current circumstances, filled with bitter distrust of the intentions of France and expresses a longing for reunion with Great Britain. The

[1] Letter Book F, p. 61.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

attitude of the author of the letter toward Robert Morris will be understood from this paragraph:

Congress yet remains here, and that in opposition to the utmost exertions of all the great men & their tools. Their being here I consider a very happy affair for America. The Members act with much more independence than they ever did or will do in Philadelphia. I have carried some motions here, which but one man would support me in when in Philadelphia. Things seem to be working right. The great man and his Agents are very uneasy, they see their influence daily declining, and I have great hope that we shall yet catch him on the *hop*, and perhaps get rid of him. I wish exceedingly to see our Councils freed from his influence, to see Congress acting an independent & an honorable part. This cannot be while he remains in office.[1]

The sanguine temperament to which Mr. Morris' biographers have alluded, and a certain strain of dry humor alone saved him from becoming a nervous wreck. On the Fourth, finding that no preparations have been made for an official celebration at Philadelphia, he organizes a small one of his own, entertaining at dinner some forty military and civil dignitaries, and spending "the afternoon and evening in great Festivity and Mirth."[1] And when one Robert Moorhead calls on him in the very thick of his financial worry to show him his discoveries of "Perpetual Motion, etc.," Morris drily notes in his diary that his interrupter "went away convinced that his discoveries are very defective" [3]. In his letter of August 19th, to the Governor of Massachusetts, acknowledging the receipt of an act of the Assembly of that State disapproving of the method of making the three months' pay

[1] Bancroft MSS. England & America, Vol. August, 1782. Dated August 5th 1783. Bancroft's endorsement on this letter shows that he suspected Mr. Higginson of its authorship.

[2] Diary, p. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

to the army, he could not resist a pointed reference to the attitude of that State toward him. He wished the disapproval had come soon enough to have prevented the measure entirely, for it was carried out against his advice; had the States enabled him to do better for the army such a measure would never have been proposed; he hoped in future times that public servants would not be forced into positions injurious to so deserving a body of men as the American soldiery, and if such measures were adopted he hoped they would receive adequate censure or punishment. Then comes the sly thrust — in any case, he hoped that whether censure or punishment ensued, *those who were guiltless would throw the first stone*.[1]

During the passage at arms between Congress and the Financier, Mr. Williamson had endeavored to improve the attendance by moving, on the 16th, that whenever the lack of a quorum of seven States made an adjournment necessary the names of the States represented and of the individuals present from States not represented be entered on the Journal. This resolution went into operation the next day and the manuscript Journal bears the record that "Only five states attended, namely Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina & South Carolina," but in the printed Journal the entire paragraph is omitted and there is no entry for the 17th, which is also the case for the 21st. Quorums were unobtainable on the 22d, 24th and 25th and the Journal duly records the attending States and individuals.

A pleasant diversion was created on the 16th by the reading of the following address to Congress from the magistrates, militia officers and citizens of Newark, N. J., which was brought to Princeton by Surgeon General William Burnet, Mr. William Peartree Smith, and

[1] Letter book F, p. 60.

Judge Elisha Boudinot, a committee appointed by the citizens of Newark for that purpose.

To His Excellency the President and the Honorable Delegates from the United States in Congress Assembled:

Indignity offered to the Representative Body of these United States must be heard by every true son of the Confederated Republic with equal Surprize and Resentment. To express our deepfelt Abhorrence of the late Insult committed at Philadelphia, by a Set of mutinous Soldiers, on your august assembly — We the Magistrates, Militia Officers and Citizens of the town of New Ark, have this day purposely convened. At the same time we take Occasion of expressing the Pleasure we feel on your Removal into this State, a State, which entertains a just Sense of the Dignity of that Foederal Council by the Wisdom and Firmness of whose Measures, the Sovereignty and Independance of this Country, hath under God been so gloriously established.

Permit us, Most Honorable to assure You, that with the rest of our fellow Citizens at the risque of every thing we hold dear, We shall be ever ready to protect the Congress of the United States against every Insult and Indignity whether foreign or domestic; But such is the Affection, such the Veneration, of the People of this State, to the Foederal Government, that we are confident if its Seat be perpetuated in New Jersey, your Honor and safety will ever remain inviolate and undisturbed. —

To induce to a permanent Establishment in the State, Nothing in the power of this Township shall be wanting. — And should your Honorable Body think Proper to fix your Residence in this Town, which with its Environs for Elegance of Situation and Convenience, is equal if not superior to any part of the State, every possible convenient Accommodation shall be provided to render your Situation Satisfactory and Agreeable.

By order of the Meeting

Wm Burnet, *Chairman.*[1]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 43, p. 333.

This address was referred to Messrs. Read, McHenry and Higginson, whose report was read on July 18th, applauding the people of Newark for their patriotism and their zeal for the honor of the federal government, and directing the president to thank them for their willingness to render the stay of Congress in New Jersey as agreeable as possible. President Boudinot on the 24th wrote to Dr. Burnet in obedience to this command.[1]

A week later (July 23d) Congress received still another loyal New Jersey address, this time from the militia of the three counties of Hunterdon, Middlesex and Somerset.

To the United States in Congress assembled:

Permit the Officers of the three Battalions of Militia of Hunterdon, Middlesex & Somerset, most contiguous to the place of your present Sitting, to make a Tender to you of their profoundest Duty & Respect; And we may with Truth and Justice add that of the Men whom we have the honour to command, with whose Sentiments & Instructions we are thoroughly aquainted.

At a General Meeting we have lately entered into the following unanimous Resolutions,

That the foederal Union ought to be held Sacred by every Citizen of America, & therefore that the highest Honour is due to the Congress of the United States, not only on account of their exalted Station, but for their virtuous and vigorous exertions in the public Cause.

That Congress ought to be protected in their Honour & Safety, individually & collectively, & supported in their Government by the executive of every State, and by the exertions of every Friend to the common Cause.

That we do tender our Services to Congress to protect them from all Insolence and Violence, and to march under proper command for this purpose Whenever & Wherever it may be necessary. — And

That while we thus tender our Duty to Congress, we cannot help paying the Tribute that is due to an excellent

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 20, Vol. 2, p. 293, and *ibid.*, 16, p. 226. Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 344.

Governor, & the vigorous Executive of the State of New Jersey, who, we are assured, will be as forward to encourage & direct our Zeal as we are to express it.

Signed in behalf of the Battalions by

JOSEPH PHILLIPS
HENRY VAN DIKE
WILLIAM SCUDDER
} *Colonels.*[1]

In accordance with the recommendation of Messrs. Izard, Higginson and Williamson, to whose consideration President Boudinot entrusted this document, and who had reported[2] July 26th, he acknowledged on the 30th to Colonel Phillips the receipt of the address and begged him to inform his fellow officers of the satisfaction which it gave and of the high approval with which its patriotic sentiments were viewed by Congress. And he added: "it gives me personally great pleasure to bear this testimony to the affectionate attachment of my Fellow Citizens of New-Jersey to the Foederal Government, and doubt not but they will ever support the very respectable character they have hitherto maintained throughout the Union."[3]

Meanwhile, at Philadelphia public opinion in regard to the departure of Congress was undergoing a change. At first the citizens had affected to treat the whole affair as "of a trifling nature."[4] But the course of a few weeks had altered this attitude. Edmund Pendleton remarked that the presence of military visitants, and the reflection that their own conduct had made the visit necessary, could not be pleasing to Philadelphians; it was obviously "a stigma on their public character, as wanting either *inclination* or *courage* to support the members of the great

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 51.
[2] Ibid., 20, Vol. 1, p. 291.
[3] Ibid., 16, p. 231. Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 344.
[4] Letters to Washington, 92, fo. 262. Boudinot to Washington, July 8th, 1783.

National Council, holding Session in their Metropolis."[1] Ezra L'Hommedieu intimated to Governor Clinton that the change of opinion was largely due to the fact that the absence of Congress meant the loss to the State of a hundred thousand dollars per annum.[2]

At any rate, early in July an address of loyalty was drawn up, and after Tench Francis had shown Robert and Gouverneur Morris a draft of it and had received their approval,[3] signatures were gathered. Thomas Paine declared to Washington that the address was signed by the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city; but Captain P. S. DuPonceau, Steuben's former aide, gave Robert Livingston a different impression. "A petition," said he, "has been lately set on foot for this purpose, it is pretended to be from the citizens of Philadelphia, but the truth is that Mr. Peale & other persons of his stamp, go about from house to house to procure signatures — It is generally thought that Congress will come back on the strength of that — The Wags say that they are petitioning themselves, indeed the matter is carried on rather in a farcical manner. Those who wish well to Congress hope that they will support the measure they have taken, & that if they are ill accommodated at Princeton they will remove to Trenton or to some more convenient place, but that they will by no means return to this city."[4]

Of the address the *Pennsylvania Gazette* had this modest notice to publish in its issue of July 16th:

There is scarcely an instance, in which the citizens of Philadelphia have shown more good sense, united with good disposition and manly patriotism than in their Address to Congress, which is now signing, and will be presented in a few days. It happily falls in with the sense of all

[1] Pendleton to Madison, July 21st.

[2] Clinton MSS. 5157, Letter of Aug. 15th.

[3] Morris' Diary, July 9th.

[4] Livingston Papers, 1777–99, p. 437.

parties, and is not only a measure of perfect cordiality, but consistent with the nicest and most delicate sense of honour.

The text taken from the original, is as follows:

THE ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA AND OF THE LIBERTIES THEREOF — TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Most Honble Sirs

From the Commencement of the late ever memorable contest for liberty and the honor and happiness of the human race, the Citizens of Philadelphia, and of the Liberties thereof, have in an especial manner distinguished themselves by every exertion which principle could inspire or fortitude support.

Neither have they been free with their lives only as Militia but with their fortunes as Citizens. As instances of these we need only appeal to facts.

The Progress of the War has fully confirmed the one and the monthly return of taxes from this State of which the City & Liberties form so great a part has not been exceeded by any and we wish they had been proportionally equaled by every State in the Union. To which we may add the establishment of the bank which has extended its usefulness to the public service, and acquired a permanency as effectual and in some instances superior to those of other nations.

The government of this State has, likewise, ever distinguished itself by adopting and passing and the Citizens by supporting all such laws recommended by Congress as were necessary to be passed throughout the Continent for bringing the War to a happy issue and for raising such monies as the expence of it required.

The Act for laying a duty of five Per Cent upon imported Articles tho' it would have found its richest mine in the Commerce and consumption of this City & State, yet struck with the propriety and equity of raising money from the Channel in which it most circulates and impressed with the Necessity as well as the bounden duty

of maintaining the justice and honor of America we chearfully gave it our best support. And as we have ever been so we mean ever to continue to be among the foremost to establish the National Character of America as the firm basis of inviolable faith and sacred honor.

In thus expressing our minds to Congress we are likewise compelled to say, That from your residence among us We have been Witnesses to the uncommon difficulties you have had to struggle with. We have beheld them with concern and often times with heartfelt anxiety We have participated in Your Cares and partook of your burthens

While our chiefest consolation under them was that they did not arise from any unwillingness or backwardness in the Government of this State to adopt the proper measures for removing them or from any narrow views in the Citizens to counteract them —

We do not amuse the World with calling on Congress to do Justice to the army and to the creditors of America and yet withhold the means by which that Justice is to be fulfilled. On the contrary we freely offer ourselves to bear our share in any National measure to effect those purposes and to establish the character of America equal to her Rank.

We are now most solemnly to assure your Excellency and Congress that tho' we do not enter into the reasons or causes which might suggest to your Honorable Body the propriety of adjourning at the particular time you did adjourn from your long accustomed Residence in this City, Yet as a Testimony of the Affections of the Citizens to that Union which has so happily succeeded in accomplishing the freedom and independence of America, We beg leave to assure Congress that if either now or at any future time until the Residence of Congress shall be permanently established it should appear to your Hoñble Body that the situation of Philadelphia is convenient for transacting therein the concerns of the Nation that Congress may Repose the utmost confidence in its inhabitants, not only to prevent any Circumstance which may have a tendency to disturb their necessary delibera-

tions but to aid in all measures to support the national honor and dignity.[1]

This formidable document with its 800 signatures President Boudinot delivered to the tender mercies of a committee consisting of Messrs. Williamson, Duane, Higginson, Lee and Izard, who brought in a diplomatic report[2] on July 28th in these terms:

That the President inform the Citizens of Philadelphia and its Liberties in answer to their respectful & affectionate address that the United States in Congress assembled have great satisfaction in reviewing the spirited and patriotic Exertions which have been made by the Government and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the Course of the late glorious War. And that they are highly pleased with the Resolutions expressed by the Citizens of Philadelphia to aid in all Measures which may have a Tendency to support the national Honor and Dignity.

The reply which Boudinot wrote on July 30th[3] in pursuance of these directions was published in the newspapers by Thomas Willing, on advice of Robert Morris,[4] with the text of the address of the citizens in order best to "fulfil the intentions of Congress, by furnishing the most speedy communication of their favorable sentiments of the government and citizens of Pennsylvania."[5]

Concerning the address, Edmund Pendleton observed to Madison:

I expect that the citizens of Philadelphia whilst they are retailing their merit to induce the return of Congress to their City, will feel some remorse for their assumed indifference about their making that the seat of the permanent Sessions of that body & will enter the list of bidders for the Honour & profit. They may Palliate, but

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 43, p. 333. For the signatures see Appendix III.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20, Vol. 2, 159.
[3] *Ibid.*, 16, p. 230; Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 345.
[4] Morris' Diary, August 4th.
[5] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 6th.

they cant excuse their neglect to suppress a handful of rioters assembled to violate the Laws & insult either their own Government or that of the State, but we have reason to practice the divine disposition of forgiving upon repentance. [1]

And later he had this further comment to make:

The Address of the Citizens of Philad'a would have been clearer if fewer Egotisms had appear'd in it. Some were excusable as an evidence of their attachment to the Federal Government, and I am inclined to think that a Majority were ready to have protected Congress from & resented the insult, and that I formerly hinted the true source of the neglect. Be that as it may, that body are polite & civil in their answer, and properly avoided any declaration on the subject of returning.[2]

On the 28th of July, the day that the report on this address was adopted, another committee consisting of Messrs. Higginson, Ellery and Williamson appointed to consider an important letter from President Dickinson, dated the 14th, also brought in a report. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Williamson, it will be noticed, had served on both committees. Mr. Dickinson had bravely endeavored to diminish as much as possible the effects of the mutiny. No one was more mortified than he at the step Congress had taken. He had made as pleasant a face as he could and had kept Mr. Boudinot posted as to the progress of affairs in Philadelphia. On July 3d he had written assuring him of the Council's support in carrring out the resolution of July 1st, and at the same time had ventured to hint that so large a body of troops as General Howe was bringing was perhaps unnecessary in view of the tranquility now reigning in the city.[3] On July 14th he had written suggesting the pardon of Congress for the troops

[1] Pendleton to Madison, July 28th.
[2] Pendleton to Madison, August 18th.
[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 147.

concerned in the mutiny. "We do not doubt," said he, "but on this occasion, former instances in several Lines of the army, the proceedings thereupon, the particularity of circumstances attending the late disturbances, the success of the War, and the happy conclusion of it, will have their due weight in forming the resolution that will be adopted."[1] His also had been the initiative in arranging the dinner given at the State House on the 18th to the officers of the army then in and near Philadelphia. Among the guests were Robert Morris, Generals Gates, DuPortail, Howe and Patterson, the last pair being in the city in connection with the mutiny. Mr. Dickinson presided; there were thirteen toasts with firing of cannon after each, while different marches were played by military bands; and it was declared by the newspapers that the company present behaved like members "of one great and happy family."[1]

On the 28th then the committee on President Dickinson's letter recommending mercy brought in a report which led to a resolution that although Congress was disposed to extend to the mutinous troops every possible mark of clemency which was consistent with the honor of the government and the safety of the public, yet no final measures could be adopted on the subject until General Howe's court martial should be closed. There was, however, no objection to granting furloughs to soldiers implicated in the mutiny if they were not ring-leaders, or if their testimony was not important for the conviction of the ring-leaders. But no soldier concerned in the disturbance would be allowed to carry home his arms on his discharge or furlough, the resolution of May 26th to the contrary notwithstanding. General Howe was ordered, however, to send back to the main army any of his troops no longer needed.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 151.

[2] See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 23d, and the *Freeman's Journal*, July 30th.

On July 28th another important report was made in Nassau Hall, although no trace of it is to be found on the pages of the Journal. This was the report of Madison, Hawkins and Duane on a communication from Morris, of June 29th, protesting against the action of the Maryland Legislature in directing the Intendent of Revenue, without sanction of Congress, to advance five months pay to the Line of that State in the army of the United States. To meet the expense involved the Legislature had revoked an act appropriating a particular tax toward discharging the requisition of Congress and had ordered the same to be applied to the new purpose. Robert Morris had remonstrated to the Executive of Maryland, and had forwarded a copy of the act of Congress of October 1st, 1782, expressing the disapproval of Congress when a similar proceeding had taken place in New Jersey, and he pointed out as subverting to public credit the alarming tendency of the Maryland action in view of the recent Congressional orders to advance pay to the army at large. Before this he had called the attention of Daniel Carroll, who was representing Maryland in Congress, to the situation reduced to its simplest terms: her delegates were opposing the disbanding of the army while her Legislature was depriving Congress of the means appropriated to that army's support.[1] To Benjamin Harwood, Receiver of Taxes for Maryland, he wrote no less emphatically:

When relying on the faith of the Legislature I make Engagements in Consequence of Their Laws it is not only unjust to break that faith but it is also the Source and Cause of further Injustice. All those Ties by which Public Credit is held together are at once cut in twain and every private Engagement formed in Consequence thereof becomes the Sport of Accident. Perhaps a calm rational firm Representation seasonably presented would have checked the Progress of the Bill — Of this however

[1] Letter Book E, p. 388.

you (being on the Spot) are the best Judge, and I rely that you have done what was proper.[1]

But Morris did not receive much attention from Congress. The committee to which his protest had been referred agreed with him entirely and proposed that the Maryland Legislature be earnestly requested to consider the pernicious tendency of the measure complained of, and that it be required to pay into the public treasury the quota so appropriated in order that Congress might be able to do equal justice to the army and to other public creditors.[2] And then in spite of its urgency the report was allowed to lie on the table two weeks, only to have its consideration postponed on motion of the Maryland members until they might have an opportunity to hear from their Legislature on the subject.

Congressional attention had been directed into another channel by the passage of the resolution which led to the coming to Princeton of the Commander in Chief of the American Army. This resolution was passed also on Monday, July 28th, and was the beginning of the wave of Washington enthusiasm which reached its height in the audience given to the General by Congress in Nassau Hall, to be described in another chapter.

The next day the treaty of amity and commerce with Sweden, which had been signed at Paris on April 3rd, was adopted and ratified with certain instructions to Franklin. The report of the committee, Madison, Higginson and Hamilton, on ratification and proclamation of treaty with Sweden had been delivered on July 24th. The execution of the proclamation was postponed until September 25th.[3]

[1] Letter Book E, p. 409.
[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 4, p. 411.
[3] *Ibid.*, 29, p. 323.

CHAPTER VI

WASHINGTON IS CALLED TO PRINCETON

Washington had become very weary of the "distressing tedium" of camp life at Newburgh waiting for the arrival of the Definitive Treaty which was to release him from public service, but which was rapidly approaching a condition of mythical improbability. He had written to President Boudinot of his "most disagreeable circumstances" in a letter dated July 16th, wherein he complained of his uncomfortable situation "with little else to do, than to be teased with troublesome applications and fruitless demands."[1] In order then to wear away a little time, as he told Mr. Boudinot, and also to visit the northern and western posts and to acquaint himself with the requirements for their occupation after the evacuation by by the British,[2] he had resolved to make a tour to the northward, and accordingly on the 18th left Newburgh on a trip which lasted nineteen days.

In the meantime, at Princeton the question of a peace establishment had come up again. In desultory fashion this had been talked about already during the stay at Princeton, but now it was taken up as if in earnest. As early as May, Washington's advice on the subject had been sought, and at the present juncture his friends believed that if he were invited to come down to Princeton he might find the visit pleasant, and at the same time the committee on the peace establishment would be certain to find his presence profitable. His letter of July 16th was referred to a committee of which his former secre-

[1] Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 467.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

tary, Dr. James McHenry, was chairman, and on the report brought in by him it was resolved on July 28th

That the President inform the Commander in Chief that his attendence at Congress is requested as soon as may be convenient after his return from the Northward.

Charles Thomson made a fair copy of the resolution for transmission to Washington, but President Boudinot did not write until the 31st when, owing to the carelessness of a clerk, he could not lay his hand on the copy. It was forwarded under separate cover the next day [1]. The inside history of this resolution is told by Dr. McHenry in a letter which the Commander in Chief found waiting for him on his return to Newburgh on August 5th:

PRINCETOWN 31st July, 1783.

My dear General.

You will forgive me for not writing to you sooner and attribute it to its real cause, not want of the sincerest inclination, but of leisure — Perhaps before this reaches you the President will have transmitted our resolve for bringing you here and relieving you from that disagreeable situation of which you have so justly complained in your letter to Congress. I was chairman of the committee on that letter and reported the substance of the resolve which will give us the pleasure of your company. The original resolve was that we should avail ourselves of your experience and advice in the formation of the peace establishment, but this was looped off in order to get Rhode Island to agree to the other. This State is opposed to a peace establishment. You will however prepare yourself on this subject as you will be consulted on it, and bring with you such papers as may be necessary. — Tomorrow we shall make a motion to have proper accommodations provided.

You will be pleased to make my respects to Mrs. Washington and believe me sincerely and with real attachment yours JAMES MCHENRY.[2]

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 346.

[2] Letters to Washington, 63, folio 363.

Cordial though this letter was it did not mention the official purpose of the call to Princeton, namely a complimentary audience with Congress, nor did it give any hint as to the length of the visit Washington was expected to make, and he frankly stated to Dr. McHenry in his reply of August 6th that if the peace establishment were the chief object of his invitation to Princeton his visit was hardly necessary, since he had already given his full views on the subject to a committee of which Alexander Hamilton had been chairman, while if his own comfort were the main consideration he would rather stay where he was. He was seeking retirement into private life rather than a change of headquarters. He had not yet received the copy of the resolution sent by Mr. Boudinot, and therefore asked Dr. McHenry to forward one as soon as possible, and also to explain its real purpose.

A week later it was moved by Mr. Clark, with Mr. Read seconding, that a committee be appointed to confer with Washington on the peace arrangement and that it be instructed also to report on the proper manner in which to receive him. Whereupon Mr. Howell of Rhode Island, seconded by William Ellery, moved to postpone the resolution in order to consider a substitute whose purport was limited to the second clause of the Clark motion. This was lost on a close yea and nay vote of four to five, New York being divided, New Hampshire having but one delegate present, and Delaware and Georgia being unrepresented. The Clark motion was then carried clause by clause, Massachusetts alone voting with Rhode Island against the peace establishment clause. It was then further ordered that the committee of conference consist of five members, and President Boudinot appointed Messrs. Charles Carroll of Maryland, James Duane of New York, Samuel Holton of Massachusetts, Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, and James Wilson

of Pennsylvania, who reported on the mode of reception as follows:

That the General on receiving his Audience shall be introduced by two members and placed in a Chair near to & on the right hand of the President. The President to be covered and to speak to the General in his Seat: and to receive his address sitting. The members of each State during the Conference to sit together & keep their Seats, uncovered, as usual, and to sit together in the order of their States.

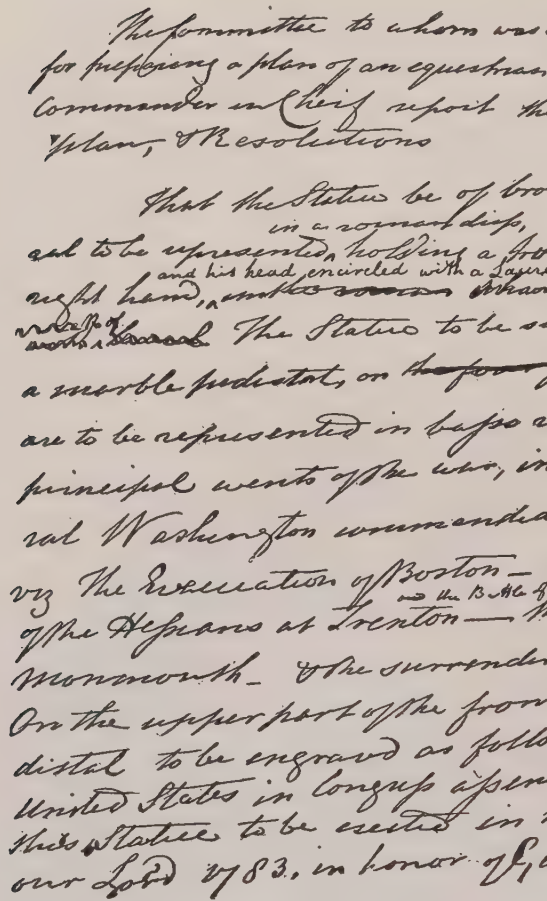
Two first Members present of Committee to introduce the General.[1]—

With Colonel Bland seconding him, Arthur Lee then moved the erection of an equestrian statue of Washington at the place where the federal residence should be established, and including New Hampshire, the eleven states represented by twenty-six delegates, voted unanimously in favor of the motion.

The erection of a statue was no new idea. As long ago as May 8th, Arthur Lee with Oliver Ellsworth and Thomas Mifflin, had been appointed a committee to report a design for such a statue, but their report had never been acted on. It was now called up. The report had been written by Lee, and contained numerous alterations and additions in the autograph of Ellsworth. With these changes it was adopted by Congress, and the Journal records the transaction as follows:

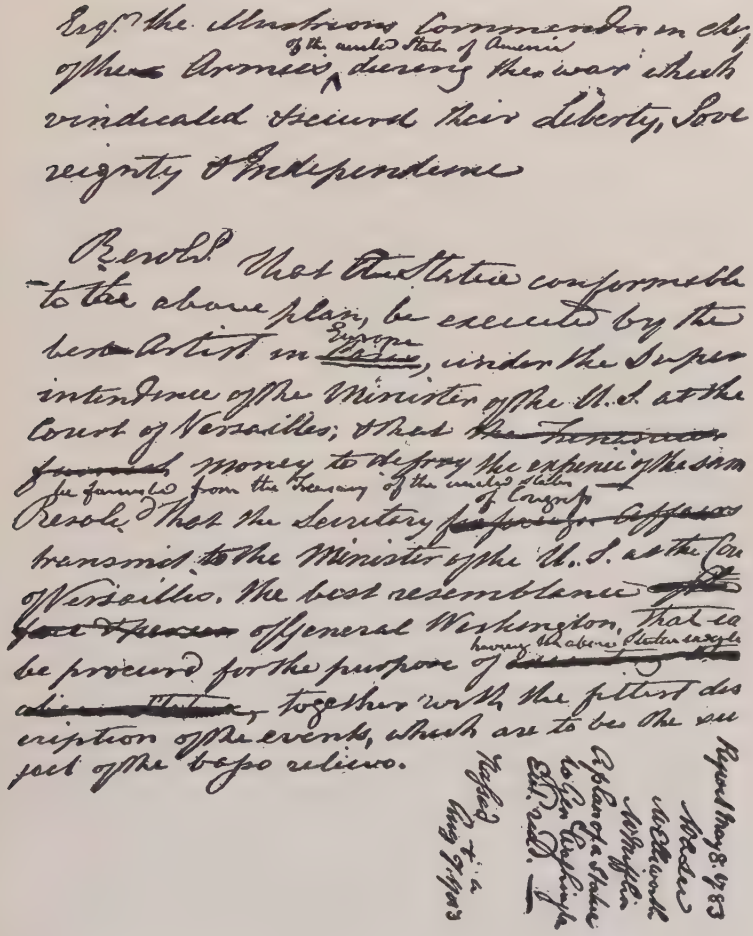
Resolved, That the Statue be of bronze — the General to be represented in a Roman dress holding a truncheon in his right hand and his head encircled with a laurel wreath. The Statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which Gen! Washington commanded in person. Viz: — The evacuation of Boston — the capture of the Hessians at Trenton

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 6, p. 443.



Report on Design of a Statue of General Washington.

— the battle of Princeton — the action of Monmouth and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the Pedestal to be engraved as follows. The United States in Congress Assembled, ordered this Statue to be erected in the year of our Lord 1783, in honor of George Washington, the illustrious Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America during the War



Report on Design of a Statue of General Washington.

which vindicated & secured their liberty, Sovereignty and independence. —

Resolved, That a Statue conformable to the above plan, be executed by the best Artist in Europe under the superintendence of the Minister of the United States at the

Court of Versailles; and that money to defray the expence of the same be furnished from the Treasury of the United States.

Resolved, That the Secretary of Congress transmit to the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles, the best resemblance of Gen: Washington, that can be procured for the purpose of having the above Statue erected; together with the fittest description of the events, which are to be the subject of the basso relievo.[1]

The next day steps were taken to secure quarters for the Commander in Chief. Colonel Morgan's wide acquaintance with the resources of the neighborhood was again enlisted, and he was authorized to engage a house for the accommodation of Washington during his attendance at Congress. Fortunately "Rockingham," an estate at Rocky Hill on the banks of the Millstone River about four miles from Princeton, was at that time waiting for a purchaser. It had been the property of the late Judge John Berrien, and consisted of a tract of three hundred and twenty acres of land, well watered and wooded, with a dwelling on it of more than twenty rooms, and those numerous adjoining outer buildings which formed part of every prosperous colonial farmhouse.[2] Mrs. Margaret

[1] Journal, August 7th, 1783.

[2] In Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, July 5th, 1783, is found this advertisement:

FOR SALE.

That very healthy and fine situated farm Rockingham, the property of Mrs. Margaret Berrien. This farm lies on the River Millstone, about five miles from Princeton, on the road leading from Princeton to Morristown; it contains about 320 acres, a good proportion of Meadow and Woodland; the soil is good for wheat and natural grass, so that a great quantity of the best English Meadow may be made with little trouble or expense; the place is well watered. The House contains upward of twenty Rooms of different kinds, including a kitchen, very conveniently contrived and genteely finished, and cellar almost under the whole; there is also a very good Barn and Stables, Coach-House, Grainary and Fowl House, all painted; a curious Smoke House and other out houses; there are several very fine young Apple Orchards; containing the best grafted fruit in our Country, besides a variety of Pears, Plumbs, Peaches, and Cherries, Raspberrys and Currants; there is also a small Tenement on said Farm, of three rooms, with a Cellar and Milkroom, and the whole Farm abounds in springs of the best Water.

Berrien, widow of the Judge, offered the property to Colonel Morgan, and after a slight delay caused by a difference of opinion as to the rental, he took it furnished. On the 14th Dr. McHenry sent to Washington a letter commenced on the 11th, explaining why Congress desired his presence at Princeton.

PRINCETOWN, 11 Augt. 1783.

My dear General. I am just now honored with your letter of the 6th. You have indeed gone over a great deal of ground in a very short time.

The first motion for bringing you here was to get you out of a disagreeable situation, to one less disagreeable. The second was to get your assistance and advice in the arrangements for peace. It may be necessary besides to consult you respecting promotions, and on a variety of military subjects. I believe, on the whole, that your being near Congress will be a public good. I send you the address to be made you from the chair which will serve to explain the instructions of Congress.

Mrs. Berrian has offered her house which will be engaged for your reception. As there is no absolute necessity for your immediate attendance you may prepare at leisure for your removal.

Congress has received no acct. of the definitive treate — but it appears pretty certain that definitive orders havy been received at New York for its evacuation.

With the most sincere regards and respect I have the honor to be my dear General

Your Ob^{t}

JAMES MCHENRY.

There are also several thousand very thrifty Red Cedar Trees, a great number of which have been trimmed and properly cultivated. A tolerable good Stock, with some Farming Utensils will be disposed of to any person who should incline to purchase said Farm if agreeable.

A briefer advertisement is found in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 14th, 1783, which makes use of the fact that Washington was occupying the house.

14th. As the President sends you a copy of the address it will be unnecessary for me to do it. Gen. Lincoln carries it.[1]

On the 12th Mr. Boudinot had sent to Washington an official letter informing him of these arrangements, and in a private letter of the same date he forwarded a copy of the congratulatory address that would be made to him at the public audience with Congress, together with a copy of the act passed on the 7th ordering the bronze equestrian statue.[2]

Regardless of the condition of his horses Washington would have started for Princeton immediately on the receipt of President Boudinot's letter enclosing the resolution of Congress, but on returning from his northern trip he had found Mrs. Washington smitten with fever. Her ill health, coupled with the fact that he desired to pack up his papers and make final arrangements for removal, postponed his departure until the 18th, when, leaving Major General Knox in charge of the camp at Newburgh, he at length set out for Princeton. On Saturday, August 23rd, he reached Rocky Hill "in exceeding good health," as Arthur Lee wrote to James Monroe.[3] Besides his suite he had with him a guard of twelve brawny young New England troopers belonging to Van Heer's Dragoons, who pitched their tents on the lawn around "Rockingham," that of Captain Howe, the officer in command, being located directly in front of the house.[4] Among his pieces of baggage were four boxes and three trunks containing his books and papers.[5]

[1] Letters to Washington, 64, folio 13.

[2] Ibid., 64, folio 21, 25.

[3] Monroe Papers, Writings to Monroe, Vol. 7, p. 815. See also Virginia State Papers, Vol. 3, p. 526.

[4] Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, Vol. 1, p. 254.

[5] Letters to Washington, 64, folio 39.

"ROCKINGHAM," GENERAL WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.[1]

On Monday, the 25th, Congress was formally notified of the arrival of the Commander in Chief, and it was ordered that an audience be given to him the next day at high noon. Princeton, town and gown, was fully alive to the importance of the occasion and, not waiting until the morrow when Washington's time and attention would be occupied with his Congressional reception and probable social engagements, held a public meeting early on Monday at which the following address was drawn up to be sent post haste to Rocky Hill.

To His excellency General Washington, &c, &c, &c, —

The inhabitants of Princeton & neighbourhood with the president & faculty of the college beg leave to embrace this opportunity of congratulating your excellency on the late glorious peace on your meeting with congress in this

[1] From the drawing made in 1850 for B. F. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1852), Vol. 2, p. 837.

place & the present happy & promising state of public affairs.

As the college of New Jersey devoted to the interests of religion & learning was among the first places in America that suffered by the ravages of the enemy so happily this place & neighborhood was the scene of one of the most important & seasonable checks which they received in their progress. The surprise of the Hessians at Trenton & the Subsequent victory at Princeton redounded much to the honour of the commander who planned & the handful of troops with him which executed the measures. Yet were they even of greater moment to the cause of America than they were brilliant as particular military exploits.

We contemplate & adore the wisdom & goodness of divine providence as displayed in many instances in favour of the United States during the course of the war, but in none more than in the unanimous appointment of your excellency to the command of the army. When we consider the continuance of your life & health the discernment prudence fortitude & patience of your conduct by which you have not only sacrificed as others have done person & property but frequently even reputation itself in the public cause choosing rather to risk your own name than expose the nakedness of your country — When we consider the great & unabated attachment of the army & the cordial esteem of all ranks of men & of every state in the union which you have so long Enjoyed & when we consider in contrast the british leaders who have been in Succession opposed to you their attempts to blast each others characters & the short duration of their command we cannot help being of opinion that God himself has raised you up as a fit & proper instrument for establishing & securing the liberty & happiness of these states.

We pray that the Almighty may continue to protect & bless you & that having survived so much fatigue & so many dangers from traitors & in the field you may enjoy

many years of repose in the bosom of your grateful country.

Signed in behalf of the whole in a public meeting by

Jn° Witherspoon
Robt Stockton
Jonathan Deare
James Riddle
James M'Comb
Enos Kelsey
Francis J. James.

Princeton August 25, 1783.[1]

Of this address Washington immediately sent the following acknowledgment:

To the Inhabitants of Princeton and Neighbourhood together with the President & Faculty of the College.

Gentlemen:

I receive, with the utmost satisfaction and acknowlege with great sensibility your kind congratulations.

[1] Letters to Washington, 110, folio 7; also *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 30th, 1783, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 3d, 1783. The body of the document appears to be in the hand of tutor James Riddle, one of the signers of the college address to Congress. It is endorsed:

"Princeton, 25th Augt 1783. Address of the Inhabitants of Princeton & of the President & Faculty of the New Jersey College to His Excellv, Genl Washington."

A version of this document is published in Witherspoon's Works (Philadelphia, 1801, Vol. 4, p. 285–6 and Edinburgh, 1805, Vol. 9, p. 152–3). Comparison reveals striking differences. In the printed version, which is undated, the opening paragraph reads:

The President and Faculty of the College of New Jersey, beg leave to embrace this opportunity of congratulating your Excellency on the present happy and promising state of public affairs; and of sincerely wishing you prosperity and success in the ensuing campaign, and in what may yet remain of the important conflict in which the United States are engaged.

The second and third paragraphs contain numerous verbal changes, and the clause referring to the British leaders is omitted. The closing paragraph reads:

We pray that the Almighty may continue to protect and bless you — that the late signal success of the American arms, may pave the way to a speedy and lasting peace; and that, having survived so much fatigue, and so many dangers, you may enjoy many years of honorable repose in the bosom of your grateful country.

John Witherspoon.

The inaccurate and special editing of which this version is guilty is patent when one considers the circumstances under which Washington came to Princeton in 1783.

The prosperous situation of our public affairs, the flourishing State of this place, and the revival of the Seat of Literature from the ravages of War, encrease to the highest degree, the pleasure I feel *in visiting* (at the return of Peace) the Scene of our important Military transactions, and *in recollecting* the period when the Tide of adversity began to turn, and better fortune to smile upon us.

If in the execution of an arduous Office, I have been so happy as to discharge my duty to the Public with Fidelity and success, and to obtain the good Opinion of my fellow Soldiers and fellow Citizens, I attribute all the Glory to that Supreme Being who hath caused the several parts, which have been employed in the production of the wonderful events we now contemplate, to harmonise in the most perfect manner and who was able by the hum blest Instruments, as well as by the most powerful means to establish and secure the Liberty and happiness of the United States.

I now return to you, Gentlemen, my thanks for your benevolent wishes, and make it my earnest prayer to Heaven, that every temporal and divine Blessing may be bestowed on the Inhabitants of Princeton on the Neighbourhood, and on the President and Faculty of the College of New-Jersey, and that the usefulness of this Institution, in promoting the Interests of Religion and Learning, may be universally extended.

I am, Gent'n, &c,

G. WASHINGTON.

Rocky Hill, 25th August 1783.[1]

At about eleven o'clock the next morning, Tuesday, August 26th, General Washington, mounted on his favorite roan gelding with the old crooked saddle and the familiar buff and blue saddlecloth of flowered pattern,[2] and followed by his little escort of troopers, started down the dusty road to Princeton.

[1] Letters of Washington C, Vol. 5, p. 51; also *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 30th, 1783.

[2] See Capt. Lawrence's description in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 15, p. 416.

It was one of the proudest days of his life — a day that made him willing to forget for the time the discomforts and irksomeness of past months and even the trials and weariness of the past seven years. Not to many men in the world's history has it been given to deserve an honor such as he was about to receive. The Definitive Treaty for which the nation was waiting would seal before the world the triumph of American arms. And for his conduct of the war, for his achievement of that triumph he was now to receive the public thanks of his country. From Congress he was to hear official recognition of the success of the struggle for liberty in which he had for so long been the one great dominant figure. He had already perused an advance copy of the address that the President of Congress would make to him, and in the pocket of his closely fitting skirted coat he carried his carefully written reply. He probably realized that this midsummer day would witness the climax of his military career; but this realization brought with it no regret, for in his mind that morning, beside the errand of the day, there was but one other thought — his knowledge that the audience to which he was going would bring him one step nearer Mount Vernon and the old familiar haunts beside the smooth blue stretches of the Potomac.

The cavalcade reached Princeton shortly before noon. An air of ill-suppressed excitement pervaded the village, centering about Nassau Hall. The taverns had been crowded to overflowing the night before; beds were at a premium. The morning stages from Philadelphia and New Brunswick had been weighed down with distinguished passengers, who added the dignity of their presence to the picturesque groups investing the hundred yards of village street with continuous interest to the sunburned Jerseymen flocking in from the hamlets and farms of the vicinity. Black-gowned collegians were grouped

about the central entrance of Nassau Hall waiting to see the hero of the Revolution come in, while the gallery of the prayer-hall was filled with visitors long before the clocks struck twelve. The floor of the hall was reserved for Congress; the members were grouped together by States, seated and uncovered. President Boudinot, his ruddy countenance cheerier than ever, sat facing them, wearing his hat as a sign of authority. By his side was a vacant chair. Suddenly the buzz of conversation ceased; the shouts of undergraduates outside rang through the building; the door of the prayer-hall swung open and escorted by two members of the committee on arrangements George Washington entered.

He was conducted to the seat beside the president. If he looked about him at all during the slight pause which ensued, his glance must have fallen on a grim reminder of one of his most brilliant strategic successes. For on the chapel wall was hanging a massive gilt picture frame; the full length portrait which it had contained had been torn away by an American cannon ball during the brief bombardment which ended the battle of Princeton in 1777 by causing the surrender of the British troops sheltered in the college building. The ruined portrait had been that of His Britannic Majesty, George the Second.

When Washington had taken the vacant chair, President Boudinot, still seated and covered, read amid intense silence the following congratulatory address of Congress:

Sir, Congress feel particular pleasure in seeing your Excellency and in congratulating you on the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.

It has been the singular happiness of the United States that during a war so long, so dangerous and so important Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the

life of a general who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens. In other nations many have performed services, for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the Public. But to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent Nation. Those acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency.

Hostilities have now ceased, but your Country still needs your services. She wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace. For this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency & to receive your assistance in preparing & digesting plans relative to those important objects.[1]

Washington then read this modest reply:

Mr. President, I am too sensible of the honorable reception I have now experienced not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude

Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our Troops which have produced so happy a termination of the war as the most conspicuous effect of the divine interposition and the surest presage of our future happiness

Highly gratified by the favorable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past Conduct and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow citizens; I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security in whatever manner the Sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country

[1] *Journal*, August 26th.

by the British forces; after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

Perhaps, Sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present to express my humble thanks to God and my grateful acknowledgments to my country for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune and for the many distinguished honors which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war. [1]

The President's address to Washington was the production of a committee consisting of Messrs. Holten, Wilson, Carroll, Huntington and Duane. Mr. Boudinot made the final corrections. The committee reported on August 9th, when the address as it was delivered on the 26th was agreed to, the only important alteration being the commendable excision of this infelicitous paragraph in the beginning of the address after the words "so conspicuous a part," viz:

The Services which you have rendered to your Country, have been extensive, laborious and difficult. Those Parts of them which have been the least known, have not been the last entitled to Applause. In many Periods of the War, your Success depended as much on the wise Caution, with which you concealed, as on the persevering Fortitude, with which you surmounted the Obstacles that lay before you. Your Retreats have been marked with Circumstances not less honorable to your military Character than those which have distinguished your Victories.

With the manuscript of the report on the address is an engrossed copy endorsed by Charles Thomson: "The Speech to Gen. Washington August 26th, 1783." This is presumably the official copy which President Boudinot used. Under the endorsement on the back of the report

[1] *Journal*, August 26th. A draft of this reply, containing Washington's autograph corrections, is among his letters, Series A, Vol. 7, p. 121.

is an autograph note by Boudinot, to the effect that: "There should not any Copy of this be given out to any Person whatever untill it is executed. E.B." Following the engrossed address is a copy of Washington's reply in a clerk's hand, and endorsed by Thomson: "General Washington's reply to the speech delivered to him by the President of Congress August 26th, 1783."[1]

The simple ceremony was over; but its very simplicity had stamped it with striking dignity. Stripped as the occasion was of all that was merely external it had drawn its impressiveness solely from the genuineness of the motives that gave it being, and from the poise that controlled its proceedings.

Whether later in the day there was a banquet in Washington's honor cannot be ascertained; no hint of it has been found, and yet it is difficult to believe that so patent an opportunity was neglected by men whose social proclivities were their leading common trait.

Charles Thomson lost no time in carrying out his orders relative to the proposed statue. Washington was scarcely settled at "Rockingham" when he received a communication from the energetic Secretary:

PRINCETON August 28th.. 1783

Sir

I have the pleasure of enclosing an Act of Congress for erecting an equestrian Statue in honor of your Excellency — The Bearer, Mr Wright, is recommended to me as an Artist skilled in taking Busts, — & As I am anxious to execute in the best manner the part assigned to me in this agreeable business, I take the liberty of introducing him to you and requesting the favour of your Excellency to admit him to try his talents. I must also beg the favour of your assistance in giving the fittest description

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 6, pp. 445, 449, 453 and Letters to Washington, 64, folio 27.

of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo —

With the greatest esteem & respect
I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obed^{t}. &
most humble Servt.
CHA^{S} THOMSON.[1]

[1] Letters to Washington, 64, p. 116.

Joseph Wright, a pupil of Benjamin West, carried a letter of introduction from Franklin. He was the son of Patience Wright, who had reputation as a wax modeler, and from whom he had derived his skill "in taking Busts." At Rocky Hill he made a plaster mask of Washington, but had hardly taken it off the General's face when he clumsily let it fall. Washington refused to submit to the ordeal again at his hand. According to Dunlap, Wright, however, made portraits of both General and Mrs. Washington, and we know that subsequently he completed a bust of the former, for in January, 1785, at the suggestion of Thomson, he sent in his bill of fifty guineas (Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 6, p. 479). Two months later he wrote to Thomson asking what he should do with the bust (*ibid.*, p. 475), and on April 1st Thomson reported to Congress that the bust was finished and that he would have transmitted it to the United States Minister at Versailles if any measure for defraying the expense had been taken. He asked that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for settling the account and transporting the bust to Europe. The matter was referred to Messrs. Johnson, Bedford and Howell (*ibid.*, p. 473), whose report was adopted on April 6th, resolving that the President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, draw on the Treasury of the United States in favor of Wright for 233⅓ dollars, being the amount charged, and Thomson was ordered to have the bust brought to Trenton where Congress was sitting, and to await further orders. It is perhaps unnecessary at this late date to add that the equestrian statue was never completed.

NASSAU HALL AND THE PRESIDENT'S (NOW THE DEAN'S) HOUSE

[*From the drawing by W. Tennent engraved by H. Dawkins as frontispiece to "An Account of the College of New Jersey," 1764.*]

CHAPTER VII

PRINCETON IN 1783

It seems to have been taken for granted that no business of any great importance would be transacted at Princeton until the residence question was settled. Nevertheless as this was not to come up until October, it was expected that in the meantime the Definitive Treaty would arrive, and it was hoped that in any case some progress might be made with the peace establishment. The delay in the coming of the treaty, although the betting in London had been 7 to 4 that it would be signed before the middle of August,[1] the uncertainty as to what should be done in the *interim*, the lingering of the British troops in New York, the wide divergence of opinion on almost every question of policy, the thin attendance of representatives, and above all the lack of genuine leaders such as had directed national affairs during the war, saturated Congressional proceedings with a spirit of hesitancy that degenerated, before the summer passed, into what might almost be called indolence. Ezra L'Hommedieu noticed this on his arrival in August to take his seat as a representative from New York. "Congress," said he to Governor Clinton, "do not seem at present to be hurried with Business."[2] Two months later James McHenry alluded with mock deference to the "creeping politics" of his associates;[3] and Col. Theodoric Bland wrote on August 13th to General Weedon that there was little being done of interest or of stirring

[1] *New York Royal Gazette*, September 13th, 1783.
[2] Clinton MSS. No. 5157, August 15th.
[3] Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 411.

nature.[1] The letters of Madison and Washington, to name only two of the more alert observers on the ground, also echo this thought.

As a matter of fact, the midsummer months were loitered away in rural surroundings which had their compensations even if they lacked metropolitan comforts and public business suffered. It may not be out of place then before passing on to the really important doings of the autumn to picture to ourselves the Jersey village that Congress had made its temporary home.

The summer of 1783 was excessively hot, and in Philadelphia at least there was much sickness, but the healthfulness of Princeton was a point on which everyone agreed, whatever his political tenets may have been. Judge David Howell, who was representing Rhode Island, says in a letter of August 24th to Moses Brown that, while suffocating heat and numerous deaths were taking place in Philadelphia, "a salutary free air and general healthfulness" prevailed in Princeton. Some of the Southern members, he declares, were so enamored of the place that they were contemplating the purchase of property. It was even called the Montpelier of America.[2] Its proximity to New York and Philadelphia — a leisurely day's ride by the stage or half a day if one were in a hurry, — coupled with its pleasantness of situation tended to increase the popularity and importance which it had so suddenly acquired. Never had a village of seventy-five houses, for this was the size of Princeton at that time, been such a Mecca for prominent men, distinguished strangers, and prospective public beneficiaries. As Washington remarked, it was thronged with visitors "from different parts of the Globe, some to trade, some

[1] T. Balch, *Papers relating to the Maryland Line*, Phila. (1857), p. 211.

[2] R. I. Hist. Soc. Moses Brown Papers, Vol. 4, Doc. No. 1053, p. 55. For a copy of this letter I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Librarian of the Society.

for amusement, and some, I presume, to spy the land."[1] They ranged from his own former housekeeper, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson,[2] a sweet old lady of eighty, to foreigners of rank like the Count Del Vermé, a nobleman from Milan whose purpose was "to make a Tour through the united States, and to see the principle Men of each State,"[3] and who incidentally borrowed fifty guineas from General Washington. The Count de Wengierski, a Polish nobleman, accompanied by an Englishman named Vernon, came to spend some days at Princeton, bearing letters of introduction from Clement Biddle, of Philadelphia, and the Marquis de la Luzerne.[4] An English promoter, Arthur Noble, who was nursing a scheme for bringing over from Ireland several families of immigrants, was directed to Princeton by Robert Morris, in order to get Washington's opinion as to the best locality wherein to settle.[5] Thomas Paine, on Washington's advice and invitation, came on from Bordentown so that his presence might at least remind Congress of his past services, inasmuch as he felt too modest to push more noisily his claims for consideration.[6]

[1] To Rochambeau, October 15th.

[2] Mrs. Thompson had resigned her position on account of age. Washington wished her to give him an account to settle, but she gently refused, saying that she had received £179-6-8 for her services, which she considered ample with the many kindnesses he had shown to her. She went back to New York, but found all her property destroyed by the enemy, and before long she became penniless, as well as homeless. Washington then begged her to come to Mt. Vernon to live under his care, but she replied that she was too old and infirm to undertake the journey. In February 1785 she applied to Congress for aid, pathetically adding that she would not long be a public burden, and a pension of $100 a year was without delay granted to her. Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 6, p. 37; 78, Vol. 22, p. 297.

[3] Boudinot to Washington. Letters to Washington, 63, folio 307 and Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 342.

[4] Letters to Washington, 64, folios 249 and 251.

[5] *Ibid.*, folio 297.

[6] Letters to Washington P, Vol. 3, No. 512, and Letters to Washington, 64, folio 193.

Discharged soldiers, with memorials of one sort or another, straggled into the village and spent their spare time at the taverns swapping stories of their hardships and their valor. Generals like Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie,[1] and Du Portail, came to urge special compensation for the corps they commanded, and private individuals like Stephen Moore, who owned the land and timber used in the barracks and fortifications at West Point, spent weeks at Princeton before they contrived to get their due.[2] Young artists like Joseph Wright and William Dunlap came seeking fame and fortune, and hobnobbed with the clerks of Congress, who themselves struck for higher wages while at Princeton in order to keep pace with the increased demands on their slender wallets. One of the marked characters in the village during the summer must have been an inventor named James McMechen who tried to interest Congress in his wonderful discovery "for facilitating the Navigation of these long and Tedious fresh water Rivers to the westward of the alighany mountains." In return for a few thousand acres of land in the West, he proposed to build at government expense a new kind of boat of 20 tons burden which by certain mechanical contrivances — "to be wrought at no greater expence than that of five men & a Boy" — would sail 500 miles down the Ohio with its 20 tons and return upstream with a 5 ton load in the incredible time of 120 hours or 10 working days — "extraordinary occurrences & accidents excepted." A convenient pigeon-hole for his petition was found by Messrs. Williamson, McComb and Arnold.[3] But not even this decent burial was the fate of the petition of a Frenchman named

[1] See Letters to Washington, 64, folio 219.

[2] For Moore's case see Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 16, pp. 375, 389 and *Journal* for September 25th.

[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 16, p. 359, 363.

Collignon, who wished Congress to purchase a copy of his book entitled: "Découverte d'Etalons justes naturels et invariables, et de la réduction à une parfaite uniformité de tous les poids, mesures et pieds des possessions de Leurs hautes Puissances, les Etats unis d'Amérique, par des moyens simples avantageux à tout le monde, et faciles à exécuter." The practice of the principles expounded in this masterpiece would, according to its author, yield to the United States three millions of livres steady annual revenue, while the first year of its operation would net not less than nine millions, no small matter to a poverty-stricken young republic. But his book was too good to be true, and his offer met with chilling inaction. Nothing was done with it.[1] Captain John Paul Jones was another notable visitor. He came to interest Congress in the claims of the American seamen of the Bonhomme Richard, and in the prizes which Denmark had taken from him and had returned to Great Britain. He will appear again in these pages.

Governmental officials were necessarily frequent visitors. Whenever Robert Morris came to Princeton he was urged by Washington to make his headquarters at Rocky Hill, with invitations of which the following paragraph from a letter of September 3d may be taken as a type:

"Mrs. Washington and myself heard with much pleasure from Major Jackson, that you & Mrs. Morris had in contemplation a visit to Prince Town, & we join very sincerely in offering you a Bed at our Quarters. The inconvenience of accepting it, can only be to yourselves, as the room is not so commodious as we could wish; but, in the crowded situation of this place is equal perhaps to any you could get, & none would be happier in having you under their roof."[2]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 6, p. 199.

[2] Letters to Washington, P., Vol. 3. The acceptance of this invitation is dated the 5th and is in Letters to Washington, 64, folio 143. When Washington heard

Of the unofficial side of Congressional life not much has been preserved in the documents, and a contemporary gossipy epistle from Judge Benjamin Huntington to his wife is therefore all the more welcome. Its realism, its humor and its raciness are sufficient excuse for its reprint here,[3] nor is its value lessened because it gives us in passing a hint of local fashions in feminine dress.

PRINCETON Septr 8th 1783

Dear Mrs Huntington

Since my last Nothing Material has hapned a Dutch Minister is Dayly Expected to arrive in Philadelphia and it was Rumoured that Some of his furniture was arrived last Week This must be a Wonderful great Affair and what Congress can Do with this Great Personage in Princeton is more than Humane Wisdom can Divise for there are not Buildings Sufficient to House more Dons nor Indeed as many as are Already here Some are under Necessity to Go to Philadelphia once or Twice a fortnight to Breath in Polite Air The Country so badly agrees with those Sublime & Delicate Constitutions that it is to be feared that many of them will Contract a Rusticity that Can never be wholly Purged off We have nothing here but the Necessaries and Comforts of Life and who can live so? The Agreeables of the City can-

in October that Morris and his wife were coming to the audience given by Congress to Van Berckel, the Dutch Minister, he wrote "I pray you to be assured that you can make no Family more happy, than you would do mine, by lodging under their roof — and that nothing in my power shall be wanting, to make Mrs Morris's time pass as agreeably as possible, in a Batchelor's Hall." Mrs. Washington had left Princeton in the first week of October. She had derived no benefit from her residence in New Jersey; indeed, Washington says that she and most of his body guard and servants had been very unwell ever since coming to Rocky Hill. Alexander Garden in his "Anecdotes" tells how Washington, seeing Mrs. Washington off on her journey to Mount Vernon, accompanied her as far as Trenton and there met General Nathanael Greene returning from his Southern campaign. General Greene reported to Congress at Princeton on October 7th that he had just arrived. Garden then proceeds to describe for his readers an interesting dinner at President Boudinot's which Washington and Greene attended the day of the latter's arrival at Princeton.

[3] *Huntington letters*, ed. by W. D. McCracken, N. Y., 1897, p. 57.

not be had in the Country I expect no Business of Importance will be Done untill Congress Returns to that Sweet Paridice from which they hastily took Flight in June last Since which Time an Awkward Rustication has been their Painful Situation on an Eminence in the Country where they have no Mosquitoes to Serenade them in bed and in the Day they have a Prospect of no more than 30 or 40 Miles to the High Lands on the Sea Coast nor can they hear the musick of Carts and Waggons on the Pavements in the City nor See the motly Crowd of Beings in those Streets. This must be Truely Distressing to Gentlemen of Taste — The Ladies make less Complaint than the Gentlemen and the Gentlemen who have their Ladies here seem in some degree Contented. The President of Congress who Belongs in the Jersy is obliged to leave his Lady in Philadelphia to keep Possession but has the Promise of a very Genteel House here if he will take it but not Knowing whether Congress will abide in Princetown or not, he is at the utmost Loss what to Do, whether it is best for him and his wife to live together as Peasants do in the Country or for her to be at Philada as the Ladies do, and for him to Live as a Gentleman Doing Business in the Country in hopes of Retiring to the Pleasures and amusements of the City when Business is over this Matter Requiring Great Deliberation Cannot (like the Emigration of Congress in June last) be hastily Determined Thus you See we Great Folks are not without Trouble. I hope to become a small man in a few Weeks and Retire from the Embarrassments of Dignity to the Plain & Peaceful Possessions of a Private Life not Desiring to Live without Business but to do useful Business without ye Pangs & Vanity of this Wicked World

All I have Wrote is not what I Designed when I began & Consequently have not yet advanced one Step toward any Design and having nothing to Write About am at a Great Loss what to Write because it Requires more Strength of Genius to Build on Hansom Fabrick without Materials than with — I am Spending Money very fast but not so fast as I Could with the Same Degree of Industery in Philadelphia & it is a Mortifying Consider-

ation that my Cash is Spent for no better Purposes, but the Great and General Concerns of a Nation must (be) attended to and the Fashions & Customs of the World are Such as Require it to be Done with Expence — A new Fashion is among the Ladies here which is the Same as at Philada The Roll is much less than formerly and is Raised to a peak on their Forehead Frowzled and Powdered and they wear Men's Beaver Hats with a Large Tye of Gauze like a Sash or Mourning Wead about the Crown & Decorated with Feathers & Plumes on the Top which makes a very Daring Appearance The Brim of the Hat is Loped before about as low as their Eyes and is a Kind of Riding Hat They Walk Abroad and Sit in Church in the Same. Some have them in the Same Figure made of Paper and Covered with Silk with Deep Crowns as a Beaver Hat but as this is much out of the Line of Business I was sent here to do I have not been very Particular in the Subject I might also mention the Waistcoat and Long Sleaves much like the Riding habits our Ladies wore Twenty five years ago but as they Differ some from them & having no Right to be very Much in Observation upon the Ladies I am not able to say Much on the Subject

Give my love in Particular to Every Child in our Family & Regards to Friends & Neighbors

I am Dear Spouse

your Most Affectionate

BENJ HUNTINGTON

Mrs Anne Huntington

From advertisements in contemporary newspapers and from the daily accounts of President Elias Boudinot and the receipt book wherein Col. George Morgan recorded the payments he made, it is possible to get some idea of economic conditions prevailing at Princeton during the summer of 1783. The leading general merchant in the place was Thomas Stockton, and it is from the bills which he sent to Mr. Boudinot that we get most of our information of the contemporary cost of living. At Enos Kelsey's could be procured the latest European and West

Indian fancy goods and haberdashery;[1] and when one stepped into John Harrison's to leave a letter for the post-rider to carry to New York or Philadelphia a choice line of American and foreign cloths, silks, velvets and calimancoes were awaiting inspection,[2] for, besides being postmaster, Mr. Harrison was a dealer in clothing materials. The harness maker of the village was Noah Morford. He charged Colonel Morgan four pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence for a saddle with "Circingle, etc.," and two shillings for a pair of bridle reins. Stephen Morford, his kinsman, a major in the Revolutionary war, had laid aside the sword to take up the scales in a grocery store. The village shoemaker was John Huff to whom one day that summer Colonel Morgan supplied the leather for 6 pairs of shoes and recorded payment for the work done as follows:[3]

2 pair for self at 4/–
2 pair for Servant Maid 4/–
One pair for Nancy Morgan 3/6
1 pair for Negro Boy Peter 3/–

Daniel Van Voorhis, a Philadelphia goldsmith, had come to Princeton that spring and had opened a store a short distance east of the college, and was carrying on his business in all its branches. In the *New Jersey Gazette*[4] his advertisement informs the public that his work is done with dispatch and in the neatest manner, the newest fashions and on the most reasonable terms, inasmuch as he is able to execute orders at a lower price at Princeton than it could be done at Philadelphia. At his store were to be found the largest and latest variety of gold and sil-

[1] *New Jersey Gazette*, December 10th, 1782. Kelsey had been a major in the army, then deputy quartermaster and deputy commissary.

[2] *New Jersey Gazette*, February 5th, 1783.

[3] Col. Morgan's Receipt Book, Library of Princeton University. A shilling was worth very nearly 18 cents of our money.

[4] February 5th, 1783.

ver knee or shoe buckles; his scissor-chains were of the newest patterns, his gold beads and chains, his spoons and punch-strainers and his soup ladles were all above reproach. The Harneds, William and Josiah, were the tailors whose names most frequently appear in Colonel Morgan's receipt book that summer, although one Jared Sexton made for twenty-six shillings a suit of clothes for Thomas Hutchins, an undergraduate living with the Colonel, and for fifteen shillings and fourpence turned a coat and trimmings for George White-Eyes, one of the three Delaware Indian youths being educated at Princeton by the government under Colonel Morgan's guardianship. From the same source we learn that John Runyan sheared the Colonel's sheep at three pence a head, while James Finley did the weaving and Francis Gasper charged for

fulling & raising 26 yds blanketing at 7^{d}	15″0
fulling, dying & raising 8 Y^{ds} Cloth @ 15^{d}	10″0

For a new building which Colonel Morgan was erecting a carpenter named Philip Hartman supplied one hundred and ten sash lights at seven pence each; and when the advent of summer boarders compelled the Colonel to increase his sleeping accommodations Christopher Doughty made two bedsteads for him at six shillings apiece. For general work around the farm at "Prospect" John Woodman received eight dollars, or one pound, two shillings and six pence per month of twenty-six working days with extras for special jobs.

The expenses of the President's Household were not lessened by the change of residence from Philadelphia to Princeton. During the last days of June and the whole of July and August two Households were maintained; and toward the end of the summer when the Philadelphia establishment was virtually closed, the increased demands on presidential hospitality at Princeton effectively prevented any decrease in expenses.

It cost President Boudinot £50 to move to Princeton, but this amount undoubtedly included the cartage of the six wagon loads of documents that accompanied Congress to its new home. It did not however include the expenses of the overworked clerks of Congress who spent three days attending to the transportation; they memorialized their superiors later in the autumn for reimbursement. The transportation item ran the total expenditure of the Philadelphia Household for June, 1783, up to £152 11s. 11d. In July this total was only £48 17s. 6d., while in August it fell to £28 16s. 8d. In March, April and May the totals had been £206, £191, £195 respectively. The expenses of the Princeton Household alone concern us here, and from the sheets which Mr. Boudinot endorsed as "Rough copies of Thos Stockton's Acc^ts" is obtainable the itemized cost of food supplies for June, July and four days of August.[1] Elsewhere among the same papers are summarized Mr. Stockton's bills for the rest of August, all of September and eleven days of October. For the month August 3d to September 2d his bill was £43 6s. 10d., for September 3d to October 4th £46 18s. 5d., and for October 5th to October 11th, when the account closes, it amounted to £21 9s. 2d. But as Stockton's account includes neither rental, service nor incidentals the total expense was probably not less than it had been at Philadelphia with one household. For September, October and the first ten days of November, *i. e.*, for the period when Washington and other visitors, as well as the President's entire family, were at Princeton, and including the entertainment of the Dutch Minister at the President's house in Philadelphia, and the five hilarious days of His Excellency's stay in Princeton, the Princeton and Philadelphia accounts, excepting Mr, Stockton's statement above mentioned, seem to have been combined,

[1] See Appendix I.

and the entire expenditure for that period, ending November 10th, when Mr. Boudinot's account with the steward of the President's Household was brought to a close, amounted to £489 17s. 6d., or roughly £210 per month.

If it had not been for the increase of social entertainment which went far to make village life bearable to the oppidans of Congress, the cost of living at Princeton would probably have been lessened. For, examining the President's accounts more closely we find that the veal which Mrs. Boudinot ate in Philadelphia cost eight pence per pound while the veal her husband bought in Princeton on the same date cost half that price. Beef bought by Mrs. Boudinot in July cost ten to fourteen pence a pound while the beef the President of Congress served to his guests at the banquet on the Fourth was charged at eight pence. At Princeton eggs were a shilling a score, while at Philadelphia they were a penny each. The President's butter cost him a shilling a pound while his wife at Philadelphia had to pay half a crown for the same quantity. At Princeton a side of lamb was worth seven shillings, a tongue two; chickens were nine pence apiece; lump sugar cost a shilling and three pence a pound. For six shillings one could buy a bushel of beans and for three or four shillings a peck of peas. Limes were in great demand at the President's table and he paid fifteen shillings a hundred for them, while the pineapples he had occasion to use cost him two shillings and six pence each. The wine he usually drank was priced at eight shillings per gallon. A bushel of potatoes brought twenty-four shillings, a bushel of beets fifteen; cucumbers were three pence each and onions four pence halfpenny a bunch. Seven ducks cost five shillings and ten pence, or ten pence each; fish was priced at five shillings a pound and clams at eighteen pence a hundred. Tal-

low for the candles in his chandeliers was bought at the rate of eighteen pence a pound, boiling soap two pence more. A scrubbing brush was valued at three shillings and six pence, a sweeping brush at four and a half and a "large scrubbing brush" at five. The clay pipes smoked by Mr. Boudinot cost two pence apiece while the cigars he offered to his friends were procurable at less than one penny each. Flour seems to have been cheaper at Philadelphia than at Princeton for Mr. Boudinot bought his chief supply there. What he purchased in the village cost him twenty-three shillings a hundredweight. He paid five pounds a ton for the hay he gave his private horses; what he paid for the forty bushels of oats he fed them is not recorded.

Leaving these basal concepts of domestic living, let us go higher in the social structure. It was in the nature of things the country over, at this period, that the taverns should be the centers of daily life, and the transient conditions prevailing in Princeton during the summer of 1783 made this general fact locally only more true. Twenty years before, the King's highway between Philadelphia and New York was admittedly "one of the most public roads in the country";[1] and, as the seat of the College of New Jersey was the halfway stop for every stage-line on that thoroughfare, it naturally resulted that there were no better known taverns on the road than those at Princeton. The sign of "New Jersey College" had not swung to every passing breeze for over sixteen years without acquiring more than a local reputation.[2] Under the cheery management of Christopher Beekman this tavern had become probably the most

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 15th, 1763.

[2] See advertisement of William Hick in *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, August 10th, 1767, that he has taken the tavern of Princeton "nearly opposite to, and at the sign of, the New Jersey College." It is now the Nassau Inn.

popular resort in Princeton. It was here that the Fourth of July was usually kept in approved and bibulous manner;[1] here the all-day celebration of Cornwallis' surrender had taken place on October 22d, 1781;[2] and here the local Revolutionary patriots had been wont to meet in committee.[3] Colonel Jacob Hyer's tavern "Hudibras Inn" on the south side of the street was as well known and perhaps older. Colonel Hyer had long been a resident of Princeton. Before 1768 he had kept the "King's Arm Tavern" and in that year had moved into the "commodious Inn — long known by the name of Hudibras."[4] During the war he had been a quartermaster at Princeton, then a lieutenant colonel and finally colonel of the Third Middlesex Militia. John Adams had spent a Sunday at his tavern in 1774[5] and the court martial of Lieutenant Colonel Fisher took place in his main room.[6] Under the Sign of the College and also at Hudibras Inn had occurred on April 19th, 1783, the celebration of the peace preliminaries.[7] A third tavern was managed by Jacob Bergen who had a contract with one of the stage-coach lines and whose establishment was nearly opposite the college. The name of his tavern has not come down to us; it is generally referred to as "Jacob Bergen's."[8]

The scene on the main street was ever changing. On Wednesday and Friday mornings before the sun was fairly up things were astir at Bergen's tavern, and pas-

[1] See *New Jersey Gazette*, July 11th, 1781.

[2] See *New Jersey Gazette*, October 31st, 1781.

[3] See *New Jersey Gazette*, August 7th, 1782.

[4] *New York Gazette*, June 20th, 1768. The issue for May 16th, 1765, advertises the sale by Geo. Campbell of his "noted and well accustomed tavern the Hudebras at Prince-Town."

[5] See his *Life and Works*, Vol. 2, p. 355.

[6] *New Jersey Gazette*, March 28th, 1781.

[7] *New Jersey Gazette*, April 23d, 1783.

[8] E. g., *New Jersey Gazette*, November 10th, 1779, notice of a meeting at this tavern relative to local quartermaster. The building has preserved its original external appearance but it is now occupied by a store.

sengers for Elizabeth and Philadelphia were roused to take their seats in the "New Waggons" run by Aaron Longstreet and Joseph Smith representing the Philadelphia end, John Nicholson and a Mr. Hudson managing in Princeton.[1] Those going east got breakfast at the "Indian Queen" in New Brunswick, dined at Elizabeth and so to New York that evening, "boats being always in readiness." Those going west breakfasted at the "French Arms," Trenton, another ordinary owned by Bergen, dined at the "Cross Keys," Bristol, and alighted at the "Indian King" on Market Street, Philadelphia, late in the afternoon. On Tuesdays and Fridays as the eight o'clock breakfast bell was ringing in the college belfry — the undergraduates had already been to prayers and had indulged in an hour's study besides[2] — Johnson and Drake's coach which had left Elizabeth the afternoon before and had spent the night at New Brunswick would — provided the roads had been in good condition — come whirling up to Bergen's with its hungry, sleepy load. The through trip on this coach cost each passenger forty shillings in gold or silver. After they had eaten breakfast and had disappeared down the turnpike to Trenton,

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 11th, 1783. The price per passenger or for each 150 lbs. of freight or baggage was $2 to Princeton either way.

[2] We get a glimpse of Princeton undergraduate life at this period from a letter of Samuel Beach, a member of the class of 1783. His letter was written in the following January when he had become a tutor.

"I rise in the morning at 5 or at half after 5 o'clock and attend prayers in the hall. From that time until 8, I study to prepare for having a recitation. At 8 we breakfast, and from 8 till 9 some walk and idle about, but I generally sit down to study. At 9 o'clock I attend the recitation of the Junior class which generally employs me an hour and a half, and sometimes two hours. From eleven till one, I am preparing to hear the afternoon recitation. At one o'clock we dine, and after dinner we generally walk and divert ourselves untill 2. Then I attend the recitation of the Sophomore class untill 4 but this only every other day. After which I study untill 5 — then go to prayers. After prayers we divert ourselves according to our several inclinations until 6 o'clock — We sup at six. — After six, all must be in their rooms at their studies — I go to bed at 11, sometimes at twelve. — Besides this I have to visit all the rooms in my entry three times a day, that is in the forenoon afternoon and in the evening — and likewise hear a private recitation. Thus almost or indeed I may say quite all my time is employed." (Princeton Collection, Library of Princeton University.)

their next stop, the street became busy with village housewives striking bargains with noisy hucksters who sold the fresh fish and the fruit that tickled Congressional palates and made undergraduate mouths water.

At noon a bustle was occasioned by the arrival of coaches from east and west. From Philadelphia on Tuesdays and Fridays came Johnson and Drake's conveyances. On Tuesdays and Thursdays from Elizabeth came Charles Bessonnett and Gershon Johnston's popular "New York Flying Machine," while from the opposite direction ap peared its mate which had left the "Bunch of Grapes" on Third Street between Market and Arch in Philadelphia at 4 a. m.[1] This company boasted that it not only made the distance between Elizabeth and Philadelphia in one day, but by the admirable connections enjoyed with other lines rendered it now possible for a traveller to make the trip from Elizabeth, N. J., to Alexandria, Va., in only four days, a distance of 240 miles. Ichabod Grumman, Jr. and John Mercereau owned a line that also made the Elizabeth-Philadelphia trip in one day. Their coaches ran Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and met to exchange passengers at Princeton, where dinner was also taken. A cheaper vehicle made the same trip Tuesdays and Thursdays. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays the trip was made by a "Waggon" run by Bessonnett.[2] The meeting of these rival vehicles usually happened about the Congressional dinner hour,

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 18th, 1783.

[2] The price for the through trip in the coaches was thirty-five shillings or six dollars an inside seat, and four for an outside. In Bessonnett's Waggon the price was one guinea a seat. Each passenger was allowed 14 pounds of baggage under his seat; but every 150 pounds of extra baggage was charged at one guinea more and fractions proportionately. When Miss Mary Boudinot, daughter of the president, went to Philadelphia on September 8th and returned on the 19th she occupied an inside seat for which she paid 12 shillings and 6 pence each way. The fare from Princeton to New York for an inside seat must therefore have been 22 shillings and 6 pence.

and made the village street a lively thoroughfare for the few minutes preceding the welcome ringing of dinner bell. A little later, when the meal was over, when the last tankard had been drained, the last piece of news told and the refreshed passengers had exchanged coaches and gone their respective ways, and Congressmen had turned with reluctant feet back to Nassau Hall, there fell over the village the slumberous quietude of the long summer afternoon, only to be broken by the clatter of hoofs as some distinguished soldier with his aide rode up to the "Sign of the College" and tossing his reins to the beaming Christopher called for a flagon of ale before he went on to Rocky Hill to see Washington or strode across the street to look up President Boudinot in Nassau Hall.

At sundown on Tuesdays and Thursdays the passengers of Aaron Longstreet's "New Waggon" running between Philadelphia and Elizabeth, arrived for supper and a night's lodging[1] and brought their share of fresh news for the evening's conversation.

Once a week gaiety of another sort was added to local life by a French dancing master named D'Orssière who came from Philadelphia to hold a class in one of the taverns. He advertised that while he taught "all sorts of Dances the most in Fashion" he would instruct his pupils chiefly in "the graces and manners."[2] The undergraduates of the college seized the opportunity to become better acquainted with the village belles, and presumably enjoyed themselves hugely until the trustees passed a resolution forbidding their attendance.[3]

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 11th, 1783.

[2] *New Jersey Gazette*, March 12th, 1783.

[3] "It being represented, that permitting the students to attend a dancing school in the town is useless to them in point of manners, they being generally past that period of youth in which the manners are formed, & it being represented that their attendance in such school involves them immediately, or by consequence

The members of Congress saw Princeton society at private dinners and snug little wine parties, and it was then that the courtly ladies of the day shone in their brocaded glory. So grave and reverend a senior as Oliver Ellsworth carried away recollections that cropped out, some weeks after he had left Congress, in a letter to Mr. Holten. "Pray tell me" says he, "what you are about in Congress . . . also how you come on with the Princeton Girls, not to say anything of the Married Women" — and he asks that his best respects be given to "Mr. Van Voorhis & Lady & Miss Kitty — & our good brother Geary & Messrs Ellery & Hoel — & all other Conquering Friends."[1]

For those who, like Madison, cared less for the pleasures of conviviality and social life it was but a few minutes ride out to "Tusculum," a mile away, where hearty welcome and sober conversation were always to be found with Dr. John Witherspoon; and it can be no venturesome guess to say that the young Virginian and his more thoughtful colleagues spent many an evening on the Tusculum porch looking across the valley at the lights of the village with the college belfry rising over the trees, while in his deep voice and blunt manner the Doctor discoursed on the complications and decadence of present politics, and discussed plans for the future.

Washington had not been long at Rocky Hill before he discovered that an expert cook was an absolute necessity, and he requested Daniel Parker of New York to get Mr. Fraunces, the well-known tavern keeper, to send him one

in considerable expences, to the injury & ill report of the college, & it being held in a tavern, & often late at night, circumstances unfriendly to the order of good government of the institution — it was unanimously resolved, that from henceforth the students shall not be permitted to attend a dancing school, during the sessions of the college, under any pretense whatever." (Minutes of Trustees, September 26th, 1783.)

[1] Emmet Collection, Lenox Library, No. 601.

immediately — Mrs. Thompson, his former housekeeper, could assist in the selection — he wanted a person who had understanding in the matter, a German preferred, one who could order as well as get a dinner and who could make dishes and proportion them properly for any company up to the number of thirty. If he could get such a cook well recommended for honesty, sobriety and good temper, he would deem himself fortunate.[1]

The Commander in Chief, with his aides and trooper escort, soon became a familiar figure in the neighborhood. Picturesque glimpses of him like that so enthusiastically recorded by William Dunlap,[2] the artist, could not have been exceptional. When he was not riding for exercise and pleasure he was coming in to Princeton to attend some consultation such as the one to which Samuel Huntington invited him the day before the college Commencement.

PRINCETON Septem^{r} 22^{d} 1783

Sir

A committee to whom the copy of Genl. du Portail's letter of the 16th Inst^{t} address^{d} to your Excellency; is refer^{d}: desire conference with you upon the Subject of that letter.

If you will please to name a time most agreeable to you, the Committee will be happy to wait upon you in the Congress Chamber.

Should half past nine in the morning suit with your engagements, give me leave to request the honour of your company to breakfast at my lodgings in the morning of the Same day previous to the conference.

I have the Honour
To be with perfect respect
your humble; Servt
SAM^{L} HUNTINGTON[3]

Genl Washington.

[1] Letters of Washington, P, Vol. 3, September 18th, 1783.
[2] History of the Arts of Design in the United States, Vol. 1, p. 252.
[3] Letters to Washington, 64, p. 200.

If hospitality was lavish at "Rockingham," and William Dunlap who spent some time at Rocky Hill leads us to believe that it was,[1] there is no reason to doubt that "Morven" was equally a social rendezvous. Around Mrs. Annis Stockton, one of the most gracious hostesses in the State, society at Princeton centered; and the fact that the British had pillaged "Morven" and slashed the portrait of Richard the Signer across the throat had only added to the interest of the mansion and the honor of the family. Mrs. Stockton had long been a warm friend of General Washington, and her pleasure at his coming to Princeton was expressed in verse, an accomplishment in which she had more than average skill and which she frequently exhibited. Among Washington's papers there is a manuscript[2] endorsed in the General's handwriting

From
Mrs. Stockton
1st Sep. 1783.

The manuscript itself is in the characteristic script of the mistress of "Morven" and begins with this unsigned note:

Once more pardon the Effusions of Gratitude and Esteem, or Command the Muse no more to trouble you, for she Can not be restrain'd Even by timidity.

after which follow these verses:

MORVEN AUGUST THE 26.

With all thy Countries Blessings on thy head
And all the glory that Encircles Man,
Thy martial fame to distant nations spread
And realms unblesst by freedoms genial plan

[1] Dunlap, Vol. 1, p. 254.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 64, p. 125. Five stanzas of the poem have been printed with different date in Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 29.

Yet what is glory what are martial deeds,
Unpurified at virtues awful Shrine
And oft remorse a glorious day succeeds
The motive only stamps the deed devine

But thy last Legacy renownd Chief
Has deck'd thy brow with honours more Sublime
Twind in thy wreath the christians firm belief
And nobly own'd thy faith to future time

Thus crown'd we turn to Vernons dear retreat
There with Amanda taste unmixed joy
May flowers Spontaneous rise beneath your feet
Nor Sorrow ever pour her hard alloy

May nature paint those blissful walks more gay
And rural graces haunt the peaceful grove
May angels guard you in your lonely way
And prompt the path to brighter Scenes above

And oh if happily in your native Shade
One thought of Jersey Enters in your mind
Forget not her on morvens humble glade
Who feels for you a friendship most refined

Emelia

MRS. RICHARD STOCKTON'S VERSES TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Address'd by Statemen Legislatures kings
Rever'd by thousands as you pass along
While Every Muse with ardour spreads her wings
To greet our Heroe in immortal Song:

— Say; can a female voice an audience gain?
And Stop a moment thy triumphal Car
And wilt thou listen to a peaceful Strain?
Unskill'd to paint the horrid Scenes of war

Tho oft the muse with rapture heard thy name
And placed thee foremost on the Sacred Scroll
With patriots who had gain'd Eeternal fame
By wonderous deeds that penetrate the soul

Yet what is glory what are martial deeds
Unpurified at Virtues awful Shrine
And oft remorse a glorious day Succeeds
The Motive only Stamps the deed devine

But thy last legacy renowned Chief
Has deck'd thy brow with honours more Sublime
Twin'd in thy wreath the christian's firm belief
And nobly own'd thy faith to future time

Thus crown'd return to Vernon's soft retreat
There with Amanda taste unmixed joy
May flowers Spontaneous rise beneath your feet
Nor Sorrow Ever pour her hard alloy

May nature paint those blissful walks more gay
And rural graces haunt the peaceful grove
May angels gaurd you in your lonely way
And prompt the path to brighter Scenes above

— And oh if happly in your native Shade
One thought of jersey Enters in your mind
Forget not *her* on Morvens humble glade
Who feels for you a friendship most refin'd

EMELIA.

These lines, and the accompanying apologetic letter which does not appear to have been preserved by Washington, drew from him his well-known bantering reply of September 2d[1] beginning:

You apply to me, my dear Madam, for absolution as tho' I was your father Confessor; and as tho' you had committed a crime, great in itself, yet of the venial class

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 30, dates this letter September 24th, evidently a misprint. The authority for the earlier date is Washington's autograph draft in Letters of Washington, P, Vol. 3, No. 510. Moreover the poem was not written on the announcement of peace as Miss Boudinot states, but on the occasion of Washington's arrival at Princeton.

— You had reason good — for I find myself strangely disposed to be a very indulgent ghostly Adviser on this occasion; and, notwithstanding 'you are the most offending Soul alive'— (that is, if it is a crime to write elegant Poetry) yet if you will come and dine with me on Thursday, and go thro' the proper course of penetence which shall be prescribed, I will strive hard to assist you in expiating these poetical trespasses on this side of purgatory.

Another poem[1] was written by Mrs. Stockton the day before Commencement and sent out to Rocky Hill to Washington, who endorsed it

From
Mrs. Stockton
Poetical Epistle
22d Sep. 1783.

The wrapper in which this "epistle" was covered is addressed by Mrs. Stockton, but the poem itself is in another hand.

To Gen[l] Washington, an Epistle —

Sir —

When infant voices lisp thy honord name,
And every heart reverberates thy fame,
Oh, charge me not with Fiction in my lays,
For heavenly truth stood by and twin'd the bays,
Then bid me bind it on my heroes brow
And told me fame would every sprig allow
With Joy the Sacred mandate I obeyed,
And on my Soul rushed the inchanting maid:
For not Apollo with his brightest Beam,
Nor deeds which Maro sung inspird by him,
Could animate my song like such a theme.
But Ah she kept far distant from my view
That the bright wreath would be disclaim'd by you,
I grant that Fiction with her airy train
In Ancient times held a despotic reign,
When Virgil's heroes, death and ruin hurl'd
And ev'ry light depopulates a world

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 64, p. 201.

They traced their lineage from the blest abodes,
Nor sprung from men they own'd no Sires but Gods —
But I the paths of Sober reason tread
Have Seen thy actions in the balance weigh'd
The universal voice will join with me
And Echo what thy country owes to thee
O that thy genius would my lays refine,
And kindle in my Soul a ray divine
Give me to gain the Summit of the hill,
And drinking Deep of the Pierian rill
Transmit thy virtues with the tide of time,
And grave thy name in characters Sublime
Some tuneful Homer shall, in future days,
Sing thy Exploits in celebrated lays,
While my Ambition has no other aim,
Than as thy friend to set my humble name.

EMELIA.

Morven, 22 Sepr. 1783.

These are not the only lines the mistress of "Morven" ever wrote to General Washington, nor are they among the best examples of her skill although they fall within our period. Their stilted couplets, however, accord well with the easily conjured picture of her stiff-laced eighteenth century figure seated at her high mahogany desk, as she wrote to her dead husband's friend and sprinkled over her linen-rag paper the sand that still glistens on the ink.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUMMER'S DEBATES

THE appointment of a committee of conference with Washington had opened the way for some discussion of the peace establishment prior to Washington's arrival, but nothing had come of it. With the Commander in Chief safely at Princeton, however, the promoters of the scheme lost no time in pushing it to the front, expecting that his influence would speedily bring about some definite results. The day after Washington's reception by Congress, Colonel Bland, of Virginia, seconded by Mr. Holten, of Massachusetts, moved that on the 29th Congress resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration what powers existed in Congress under the Confederation for the formation of a military peace establishment. Rhode Island, in the person of Messrs. Howell and Ellery, promptly moved to amend by inserting the words "whether any and" after the word "consideration." The amendment was lost by a vote of four States to one, five being divided. This division of States indicates as clearly as anything can the difference of opinion as to the powers in question. Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, seconded by Mr. Read, of South Carolina, then moved the postponement of the main question to propose that on the 29th Congress go into a committee of the whole "to consider the question of a peace establishment." This motion, too, was lost, only six States voting in its favor, New Jersey being divided. Whether a vote on the main question then followed cannot be determined from the Journal as there is no entry concerning the ultimate action. But it is certain that under

date of the 29th there is no reference to any discussion of the peace establishment. Instead, we find one of those disappointments of which the Journal is full, the sole entry of that date referring to the ridiculously ungermane matter of lottery tickets in the dead-letter office.

Washington had thought that a few days' association with the members of Congress would have acquainted him with their views on the subject, but at the end of his first week at Rocky Hill he admitted to General Howe that he was as much in the dark as ever;[1] and on September 3d he told Colonel Pickering that as yet he had had no conference with the committee on the peace establishment.[2] Shortly after this, however, he met the members of the committee and received for criticism a copy of Hamilton's report of June 17th; and on the 8th of September he sent back a long document entitled, "Observations consequent of a Request of the Committee."[3] This valuable contribution to the literature of the subject the committee presented to Congress on the 10th without comment, and it was entered and read that day.[4] The Journal neither records this fact nor contains any further entry relating to the peace establishment until late in October.

Fitful efforts were made to reach conclusions, and Washington himself wrote to General Du Portail on September 23d asking him to favor the committee with his views of what the artillery and engineering branches of the army should be in times of peace, and the General responded a week later with a carefully worked out statement.[5] Through September and into October the discussion

[1] Letters of Washington, B, 16, pt. 2, No. 247, August 31st.

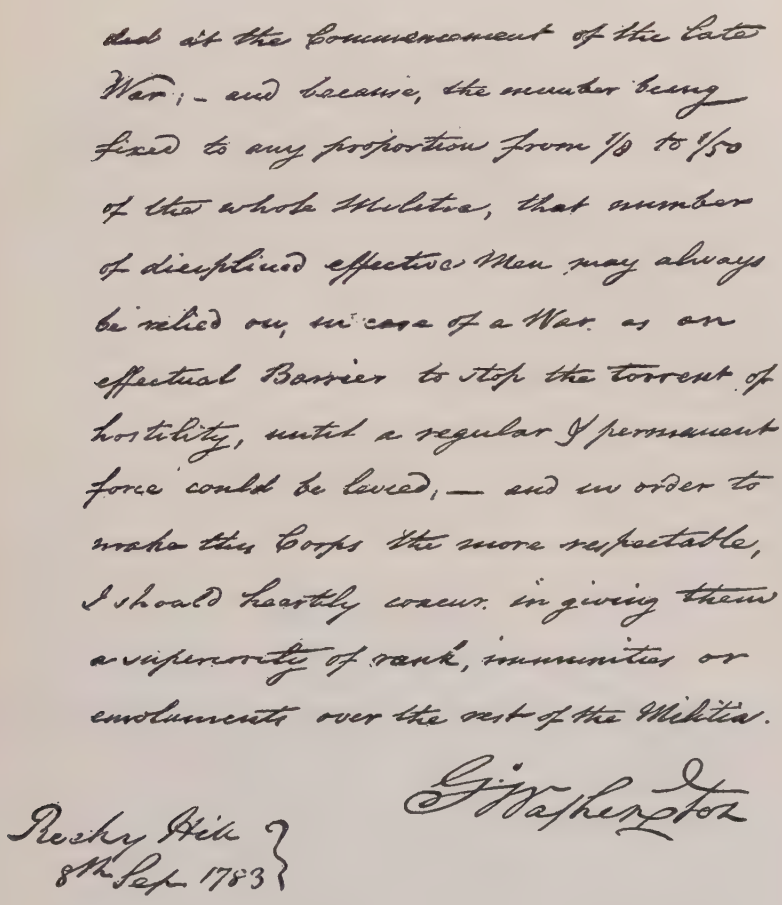
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 251. This was the committee appointed August 7th.

[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, pt. 2, p. 343.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

[5] Letters of Washington, B, 16, pt. 2, No. 262 and Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, p. 355.

lingered, but under so many discouragements that even the ardor of its advocates was dampened.[1] President



Rocky Hill
8th Sept. 1783

General Washington on the Peace Establishment (Last Leaf).

Boudinot subsequently wrote to the American Commissioners at Paris that the matter had occupied the main

[1] J. F. Mercer to Gen. Weedon, September 20th, in Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, p. 213.

attention of Congress; which was probably the case, but it had occupied attention not because Congress was eager or ready to settle it, but simply because it was a matter that would not let itself be ignored, however often its determination might be deferred.

Washington had concluded by October 23d that there was "a great diversity of sentiment among the Members of Congress respecting a Peace Establishment; and great opposition will be given to the measure whenever it is brought forward."[1] But on the very day he wrote these words the report of Hamilton, Madison, Ellsworth, Wilson, and Holten, which had been made on June 17th and tabled for consideration until nine States should be represented, and which he had himself just criticized for the new committee, was brought up in committee of the whole. On October 24th, which was devoted to debate on it, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Carroll, reported "That it is the Opinion of the Com^ee^ that some garrisons ought to be maintained in time of peace at the expence of the United States for their security and defence, under their present circumstances,"[2] and the endorsement on the manuscript records the fact that this postulate met with only one dissentient vote. Mr. Carroll further reported that the committee desired to sit again, and it was ordered to do so on the twenty-fifth. But there is no reference to the discussion on that date. On the two succeeding days no quorum was present and then came the reception to the Dutch Minister and the preparations for leaving Princeton. And thus died, after a listless struggle for life, the first effort to organize the military establishment of the United States in times of peace.

Washington was much disgusted, although not sur-

[1] To Gen. Knox, October 23d. Letters of Washington, P, Vol. 3, No. 526.
[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 38, pt. 2, p. 367.

prised, for he had long ago given up hope of any immediate decision. It had seemed to him in September that there would never be any hope as long as Congress remained in Princeton, for he believed that there was not sufficient representation to discuss the really "great national points." And at Princeton Congress apparently was to stay because of personal animosities, the southern members not being willing to run risk of "being further removed from the Centre of the Empire" and their opponents not being willing to "give up what they conceived to be a point gained by the late retreat to Princeton." So it looked as if they would remain at Princeton "to the dissatisfaction of the Majority, and the great let to business, having none of the Public Offices about them nor no places to accomodate them if they were brought up, and the Members from this or some other causes are eternally absent."[1] The gravity of the fast approaching debate on federal residence was daily increasing.

However much the important peace establishment was neglected, it is certain nevertheless that Washington was called on for advice in the consideration and disposal of many other matters of public concern. One of these was the resolution passed on September 10th[2] bearing on the pay of officers promoted after the declaration of peace. As far back as May 26th Mr. Dyer of Massachusetts had moved "that all promotions hereafter made in the Army of the United States shall, in consideration of the Cessation of Hostilities, be considered only as Honorary, but not entitle those promoted to any Additional pay or emolument on Account thereof."[3] This had been referred to Messrs. Dyer, Clark and Williamson, who reported on

[1] Washington to Clinton, September 11th, 1783. Letters of Washington, P, Vol. 3, p. 183. Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 485.

[2] The manuscript is dated September 9th, while the Journal enters it under date of the 10th. Pap. Cont. Cong., 21, p. 357.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 359.

June 4th practically in the language of the motion.[1] Their report was referred back to Major General Lincoln, Secretary of War, who, on July 26th addressed this letter to President Boudinot:

PRINCETON July 26. 1783.

Sir,

On the motion of Mr Dyer, and the report of a committee of Congress on that motion — I beg leave to submit the following report.

That, during the existence of the present army, all vacancies be filled up (excepting new appointments of Ensigns) as has been heretofore practised. — But where rank by Brevet is conferred the act of Congress directing the appointment should express that it is by Brevet — and it may now be resolved that in the future where commissions by Brevet are issued they shall not be considered as granting, or entitling to any pecuniary gratuity, or other emolument than rank in the army of the United States.

I have the honor to be,
with perfect respect,
Your excellency's
most obedient Servant
B. LINCOLN.[2]

His Excellency
The President
of Congress.

The endorsement of the letter shows that it was received on the day of its writing; but it was laid aside until September 3d, when it was referred to a fresh committee consisting of Messrs. McHenry, Peters, and Duane. Dr. McHenry sent the papers on the subject to Rocky Hill for Washington's advice, and on September 5th the latter responded with a communication which supported General Lincoln's attitude, and suggested that the Secretary of War inform the Paymaster-General that brevet commissions did not entitle the recipients to pay or emolu-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 21, p. 361.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363.

ments unless the same were distinctly expressed in the resolution granting the commissions.[1] This suggestion the committee accordingly adopted as its report on September 9th, and it was embodied in the resolution which was passed the next day.[2]

At about this juncture Congress received the report of General Howe on the proceedings of the court martial held at Philadelphia to try the officers and privates implicated in the June mutiny.

The investigation had been conducted by Howe with the utmost dignity and restraint. He had appreciated to the fullest extent the desire of the government and of Washington not to stir up unnecessary ill-feeling and yet not to let so serious a breach of discipline go unpunished. When he reported to President Dickinson on his arrival at Philadelphia, and had shown him his orders, Dickinson requested the Chief Justice of the State, Thomas McKean, and Justice George Bryan of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to take the civilian depositions before the military trial began.[3] No information of value was elicited from that source. General St. Clair had in the meantime caused the arrest of the officers and soldiers implicated or suspected, and then General Howe at once convened all the other officers of the Pennsylvania Line in the city and sought their coöperation in the difficult task before him. But with pardonable feelings of delicacy they begged to be excused from service on the court martial, and he accordingly selected its members from the officers of the Massachusetts Line and from the staff officers who happened to be in the city.[4] The board as finally constituted contained no officer of lower rank than captain. It was presided over by Brigadier General John

[1] Letters of Washington, A, Vol. 7 (unpaged).

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 21, p. 357.

[3] *Ibid.*, 38, p. 147.

[4] Capt. John Paul Jones had been requested by Robert Morris to serve on the court martial, but his ill health was sufficient to excuse him. (Diary, July 11th.)

ment under Howe the satisfaction of Congress with their "promptitude and Alacrity" on the service in which they had been engaged.[1]

The men in Howe's detachment had been pursued by ill fortune. Their miserable condition when they reached Princeton on the way to Philadelphia has already been mentioned. At the Germantown camp measles broke out, caught, it was thought, on the march through New Jersey, "as many houses on the road were full of it," and almost all of the detachment suffered from the epidemic.[2] The troops began their march back to headquarters on August 23d and for five days the exodus was continued. The sick men were moved as soon as it could be done with safety. Washington desired the soldiers to rejoin the main army as speedily as possible, and apparently did not understand Howe's slowness in carrying out this wish. On September 14th Howe wrote to Washington hoping soon to pay his respects to him at Rocky Hill; he would have done so sooner had he not been disinclined to leave Philadelphia until all the matters committed to his charge were settled.[3] But he was still in Philadelphia on October 21st, detained there by lack of funds to pay a public debt for which he was being held responsible. "I find myself," says he, compell'd to divest myself of my private resources for Debts not my own, & with thousands due to me from my Country to be almost in a state of absolute want."[4]

Saturday, September 13th, was a red letter day of the Princeton session. On that day was carried the final report of the committee consisting of Rutledge, Ellsworth, Bedford, Gorham and Madison, to whom had been referred the act of the Virginia Legislature of January 2d,

[1] Letters to Washington, 64, folio 205.
[2] *Ibid.*, folio 78.
[3] *Ibid.*, folio 164.
[4] *Ibid.*, folio 303.

1781, offering to cede all of the western land claimed by Virginia, except what is now Kentucky. No other report acted on during the five months of the stay of Congress at Princeton was so full of meaning for the future territorial expansion and development of the United States. It practically ended the long wrangle over the western lands, and opened the way for a land policy which would in every feature surpass the plans and possibilities of the individual claimants.

The report had come up for discussion on September 11th, when the Maryland members, finding that New Jersey and Delaware were absent, endeavored to have consideration postponed for a week, and failed. On the 13th the debate being continued, Maryland proposed as a substitute for the report a resolution that a committee be appointed to report on the territory lying outside of the boundaries of the undivided States, but within the limits of the United States, with a view to the formation of one or more new States, and also to report on the establishment of a land office. But New Jersey and Maryland, with Mr. Foster, New Hampshire's solitary representative, alone voted in favor of the substitute and then the report itself came up. In the report the committee had either answered or agreed to each of eight conditions Virginia had attached to the offer of cession; and it was resolved that, if Virginia would modify her conditions in accordance with the terms of the report, Congress would accept the cession. The two States which had voted in the affirmative on the substitute now took the negative, and the resolution was passed by eight yeas to two nays. It need scarcely be added that on October 20th Virginia agreed to the new terms and the cession was formally completed by a deed of transfer on March 1st, 1784.

Closely connected with the question of the land policy

of the United States was that of Indian relations, and the presence in Princeton of three Delaware Indian youths, who in 1779 had been sent there for education at government expense — an experiment not altogether a success — together with the reports of their progress and conduct which reached the ears of Congressmen during the summer, lent the whole matter of the national policy toward the Indians a very real interest which it otherwise might have lacked. [1]

On August 13th Messrs. Williamson, Wilson, Izard, Duane and Carroll, acting as a committee on a resolution of the first named gentleman reported the draft of an Ordinance prohibiting the settlement or purchase of lands belonging to Indians. August 15th was assigned for a

[1] The understanding on which the three boys had been left at Princeton was that if the United States should be successful in the contest with Great Britain, the Delaware tribe would cede to the government a portion of its territory in compensation for the expense incurred by the boys' education. One of them, George White-Eyes, now twelve years of age, had fully equalled all expectations. With his cousin John Killbuck, a lad of nineteen, he was reading Latin and both were almost ready to enter college; but John had contracted some sort of irregular marriage with a serving-maid at "Prospect" and she expected soon to become a mother. He wished to legalize his marriage, complete his studies and take his wife home to his own country, where he intended to become a merchant. Thomas Killbuck, the remaining government ward, was about twenty-one years old and had proved too old to be reclaimed. He was pitifully homesick and desired only to be allowed to go home. This general situation Colonel Morgan, into whose charge the boys had been given, laid before Robert Morris in September, advising him that Thomas be sent back to his people, that temporary provision be made for John and his family and that George White-Eyes' education be continued. Mr. Morris handed the documents to President Boudinot, who laid them before Congress with the result that the whole matter was entrusted to a committee composed of Messrs. Hawkins, Ellery and Mercer. But these gentlemen thought it inexpedient to send the trio back to their tribe in the present unsettled condition of Indian affairs, and offered a resolution that Colonel Morgan apprentice Thomas Killbuck to a good blacksmith — he had picked up the rudiments of that trade — and that he make the necessary provision for the maintenance of John Killbuck and young White-Eyes. Thomas petitioned Congress several times during the next twelve months but it was not until October, 1785, that he and his brother were released from what had become to them bondage. George White-Eyes entered college, but was never graduated. Cf. *Princeton University Bulletin*, Vol. 13, p. 101, *et seq.*

second reading, but it was not called up until the 19th when consideration was ordered to be postponed for one week. It was the 28th, however, before the draft was taken from the table, and then it was referred to a grand committee of eleven members who met that evening in the college library room.[1] Their report on the draft was delivered September 1st, and again a delay occurred, during which the final report on the Virginia cession was debated and agreed to. In the meantime the State of Pennsylvania had been considering that portion of the general Indian question which concerned itself, and on September 13th the Pennsylvania delegates received instructions from the State Legislature to obtain from Congress its sense of a proposed conference between Pennsylvania and neighboring Indians respecting a purchase from the latter of lands lying within the borders of the State. The communication being read in Congress was referred to a committee which reported on the 19th inst., and the report came up for consideration on the 20th. Its gist was that Congress had no objection to the proposed conference, provided nothing resembling a treaty was entered into with the Indians, the treaty-making power being vested in the United States in Congress assembled, and provided that due notice of the conference be given to the executives of Virginia and New York, who should be allowed to send commissioners to said conference.

Mr. Gerry, aided by Mr. Ellery, believing that the general Indian policy of the United States should be settled before any individual State should be allowed to enter into personal negotiations, endeavored to have consideration postponed for a few days and his motion fell victim to an avalanche of nays. An amendment, however, was carried striking out the first proviso. Massachusetts then sought to have the date of the conference fixed for some

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 30, pp. 27, 29.

time posterior to agreement on terms of accommodation between the United States and the Indians, but the two negatives of Pennsylvania and Virginia were sufficient to defeat this proposition. Massachusetts retaliated on Pennsylvania a few minutes later when the question on the report up to the proviso was called for, by securing the vote of Rhode Island for the negative, thus defeating the measure in toto.[1] Mr. Ellery of Rhode Island then offered a fresh motion to the effect that when an agreement should be reached between the United States and the pro-British Indians, Congress would have no objections to the conference. Pennsylvania and Virginia both declined the motion and it failed of passage. Thus matters rested over Sunday.

On Monday morning, September 23d, the ordinance reported on the 1st was passed by Congress and a consequent proclamation was issued, whereby all persons were forbidden to settle on land inhabited or claimed by Indians without the limits or jurisdiction of any State, or from purchasing or receiving by gift or cession any such land or claims, without the express authority and direction of the United States, and every purchase, settlement, gift or cession made without this authority was thereby declared null and void.[2] On October 3d the matter of the national policy toward the Indians was reverted to, when a general convention with the Indians was discussed, and the next day the Superintendent of Finance was ordered to reserve clothing and stores for 2,000 soldiers and for gifts to the Indians at the proposed conference.

The debate on residence now intervening, for the next ten days nothing was done with Indian affairs. On October 14th consideration of the report was resumed, and

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 20, Vol. 2, p. 161 is the report.

[2] *Ibid.*, 30, p. 31.

an important paragraph was agreed to whereby were conceded the wisdom and necessity of erecting the western district into what would now be called a territory, and of appointing a committee to draft a plan for temporary government of such a territory, until by their number and circumstances its inhabitants should be entitled to admittance into the union as members of a free, sovereign and independent state. The next day the full report was passed. The committee, Messrs. Duane, Peters, Carroll, Hawkins and Lee stated that they had consulted with Washington and had attentively considered the papers and letters given to them. They confined their report to the Indian affairs in the northern and middle departments, having insufficient data for the southern region, and to the settlement of the western country. The preamble is a clear statement of the present and possible relations existing between the United States and the Indian Tribes, and the following recommendations were offered:

First, that a convention be held with the Indians of the northern and middle departments who had fought on the British side, for the purpose of receiving them into favor and protection, for establishing boundaries, and for extinguishing animosities and contention. Second, that a committee be appointed to report an ordinance regulating Indian trade, and prohibiting civil and military officers from trading with the Indians or purchasing land of them without express sanction from Congress. Third, these measures were not to be construed as affecting the territorial claims of any of the States of the Union within their respective limits. And fourth, inasmuch as these measures would by no means secure the United States against the increase of "feeble, disorderly and dispersed" settlements in the west, and as such settlements would give the United States endless trouble, it was submitted

that, as soon as circumstances would allow, it would be wise to erect a territory out of the western district agreeable to the decision of October 14th. The rest of the report was referred back to the committee for further consideration. On October 20th a report was made by the committee on the Pennsylvania communication, and on the 22d it was considered. The committee suggested that, inasmuch as the application from the Legislature had emanated apparently from sentiments of respect and consideration for the Federal Government, and from a praiseworthy design to avoid complication with Federal action in Indian affairs, it be resolved that the commissioners for the convention under act of October 15th notify the Supreme Executive of Pennsylvania of the time and place of the convention so that commissioners from that State might attend, and that the Commissioners of the United States give every aid in their power, not incompatible with the best interests of the United States, to the commissioners of Pennsylvania in furthering the object which that State had in view.

Massachusetts and Rhode Island alone voted against the report, and aided by the absence of New Jersey and Delaware, which both favored it, succeeded in preventing its passage.[1] Nothing daunted, the Pennsylvania members bided their time, and on October 30th in Mr. Gerry's absence moved a reconsideration, and the report with a few minor verbal changes was agreed to by a vote of seven to one, Rhode Island voting still in the negative, Massachusetts and South Carolina being divided.

The retrospect over the summer's work could not have been flattering. The reports on the Virginia cession and on Indian affairs alone marked progress. The plan of a peace establishment was either dead or dying. The

[1] These documents are in Pap. Cont. Cong., 30, pp. 35, 175, 229, and *Ibid.*, 20, Vol. 2, p. 165.

department of foreign affairs, quite as important at this critical period as any other, was still without a head. The finances of the republic were being slowly straightened out, but with inconceivable friction and almost entirely at the nervous expense of the Financier. He was the object of "almost daily attack," says Madison, and his department would be "reduced to its crisis" at his final resignation.[1] As for the Definitive Treaty, the members of Congress had given up expectations of any treaty other than one in the language of the Provisional Articles. The dilatory tactics of Great Britain were fully appreciated, and the rejection of the American Commissioners' commercial proposals was speedily learned in letters from Laurens, received at Princeton about the middle of August. "From these dispatches," says Ezra L'Hommedieu, "it seems far from British policy to make any treaty with America on the Principles of Reciprocity. They have now every advantage of our Commerce without any Obstructions, on our part, given on theirs."[2]

The impressions of an English officer, F. Michaelis,[3] who in September made a secret trip out of the British lines at New York for the express purpose of sounding public opinion, would have us believe that Congress had not improved its reputation during the summer. The nation, according to his observation, was "sick of Congress; they speak of them with the utmost contempt; Congress themselves are tired of their Situation, the unpopularity of which they feel even in the streets of Princeton"; the members all expected, and most of them wished for a revolution, and this revolution was believed to be close at hand; there was an opposition

[1] Madison to Jefferson, September 20th. Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 573; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 21.

[2] Clinton MSS., 5165, August 22d.

[3] Bancroft MSS., America, 2, p. 225.

to it, weak in power though strong in abilities, of which Charles Thomson was thought to be the head, with the eastern states supporting him. Michaelis, however, considered that "the junto of Washington, Wederspoon,[1] Marbois and the Cincinnati, besides the clear majority of the people in Congress, and I am confident a majority of the people at large" would carry its point. It is an interesting coincidence that two days after Michaelis penned this passage, Stephen Higginson, of Massachusetts, wrote to Colonel Bland and inquired about "the Designs of the Aristocratic Junto in Congress."[2] The expected revolution, if not openly discussed, was at least broadly hinted at in tavern taprooms, for it was in such a public resort that Michaelis overheard the objection raised against Baltimore as a Federal residence that it was too warm, to which the significant answer was made that "By the time the weather grows warm the Congress will *sit nowhere*."

Michaelis was in Princeton during the college Commencement season, and had ample opportunity to note candid expressions of public opinion from the crowd of visitors who came to the village on that occasion, and although a biassed observer, his impressions are not without their value.

[1] John Witherspoon.

[2] *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 76.

CHAPTER IX

CONGRESS AT COMMENCEMENT

On September 22d the New Jersey branch of the Society of the Cincinnati met at Princeton to hold its annual session and to elect officers for the ensuing year. Forty-five members assembled. The minutes of the meetings contain nothing but the barest record of business done. At nine o'clock on the following morning before the ballots were cast for the new officers, an election of honorary members was held and President Boudinot, Governor Livingston of New Jersey and Brigadier General David Forman were elected. General Elias Dayton was then reelected to the presidency, Colonel Brearly to the Vice Presidency and the Rev. Andrew Hunter to the secretaryship. Major Richard Cox was chosen Treasurer and Doctor Ebenezer Elmer assistant treasurer. The next morning, September 24th, the Society met at eight o'clock and elected Frederick Freylinghuysen, Robert Lettice Hooper and Dr. Thomas Henderson as honorary members. The president was ordered to inform the newly chosen members of their election and a committee was appointed to draw up a set of by-laws. Then, after arranging to meet next year on July 4th at Trenton, the Society adjourned to attend the Commencement exercises of the college.[1] Congress likewise, after a brief session to which the Journal contains no allusion, but at which at least one report was delivered,[2] adjourned

[1] MS. Minutes of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey. For a certified copy of these minutes I am indebted to the courtesy of W. T. B. S. Imlay, Esq., Secretary of the Society.

[2] Report of Williamson, Clark and Gerry on Ebenezer Greene. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 2, p. 521.) His case was acted on, October 13th. Extract of

for the same purpose, leaving, in the words of the day's valedictorian, the "affairs of empires and the fate of nations to attend on the essays of inexperienced youth."

The exercises were held in the old Presbyterian church, a stone's throw from Nassau Hall. The injuries the edifice had suffered by its use as a barracks during the Revolution were partially concealed by half finished restorations, and a platform had been erected across the pulpit end of the building.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for October 8th contains the complete programme.[1]

Princeton, September 27.

On Wednesday the 24th instant, the public commencement was held in the college church, before a very polite assembly.

The exercises were introduced with a prayer by the president; after which succeeded a latin salutatory oration on the union of learning and religion, by Mr. Holmes.

An English oration on the dangers and advantages of popular elections, by Mr. Beach.

A forensic disputation of this question, — Is there any sufficient reason in the state of society, and the improvement of the human mind, why a more cool and dispassionate eloquence should be cultivated among us than was among the ancients? by Messrs. A. Green, J. Radclift and S. Beach.

An oration on the subject of female education; by Mr. Snowden.

A dispute on this question, — Was Brutus justified in killing Caesar? by Messrs. J. Venable, G. Snowden and E. Taylor.

An oration on taste, by Mr. Ford.

A dispute on the question, — Can any measure that is morally evil be politically good? by Messrs. J. Venable and J. Radclift.

N. H. Minutes referring him to Congress (June 2d, 1783) was received September 22d, and turned over to the above committee.

[1] See also Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, October 4th, 1783, *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 7th, 1783.

An oration on delicacy of sentiment, by Mr. Woodruff.

The degree of batchelor of arts was then conferred on the following young gentlemen, Samuel Beach, William Clements, Ashbel Green, Obidiah Holmes, James Hunt, Timothy Ford, Nathaniel Lawrence, Jacob Le Roy, Jacob Radclift, Joseph Riddle, Gilbert Snowden, Edward Taylor, Joseph Venable, George Woodruff. Mr. Ephraim Ramsay A. B. in Philadelphia was admitted ad eundem in this college.

The degree of master of arts was conferred on the reverend John Blair Smith of Hamden-Sidney, in Virginia, Messrs. Andrew Bayard, Jonathan Dayton, Morgan Lewis, Aaron Ogden, George Merchant, James Riddle, Joseph Rue, Richard Stockton, Peter Wilson and Aaron Woodruff, alumni of this college. The honorary degree of master of arts was conferred on Ralph Bowie, Esquire, of Lincoln's inn, and colonel David Cobb, A.M. in Harvard, and colonel David Humphrey, A.M. in Yale, were admitted ad eundem in this college.

The degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on the reverend Elizur Goodrich of Durham in Connecticut, one of the fellows of Yale college, on the reverend Charles Nesbit of Montrose in Scotland, on the reverend Mr. Wren, of Portsmouth in England.[1]

The President then gave the charge to the class that had just commenced, and the whole of the exercises were

[1] Benjamin Franklin (Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 588) had suggested this mark of appreciation, and Dr. Wren was further honored a few days later by a vote of thanks from Congress "for his humane and benevolent attention to the Citizens of these United States who were prisoners at Portsmouth in G.B. during the War" (Pap. Cont. Cong. Secret Journal, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 199, also Pap. Cont. Cong. 16, p. 264, Boudinot's letter transmitting the resolution of Congress). He was a nonconformist minister of Portsmouth who had by his sympathy and material aid done much to alleviate the suffering of American privateersmen confined in Forton Prison near Portsmouth. He started a relief fund for their benefit and collected throughout Great Britain £ 3815 17s. 6d. paying to officers five to eight shillings and to crews two shillings per week wherewith to buy comforts. Dr. Wren's acknowledgment of the diploma of the college and the vote of thanks from Congress was dated Portsmouth, February 12, 1784, and addressed to President Boudinot. It is in the Princeton Collection, Library of Princeton University. Dr. Wren died on October 30, 1787, in his 63d year. An appreciative obituary of him may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1787, p. 1026.

concluded with a valedictory oration pronounced by Mr. A. Green. The assembly was remarkably decent and attentive, and the young gentlemen acquitted themselves in such a manner as to procure the approbation of some of the foremost characters in America.

We do not know who were in the body of the house, but it is safe to say that on the platform sat a company of men to many of whom it would have been difficult to refuse the *Gazette's* appellation of "foremost characters in America." Nor was their sole claim to the title based on the fact that into their hands had been entrusted the reins of government laid down by those who had thrown off British rule. They were not fortuitously among the leading men of America. Most of the great civilian figures of the Revolution were indeed no longer in Congress, and with one supreme exception we cannot say what military heroes were present other than those in the ranks of the New Jersey Cincinnati, although the circumstances surrounding this Commencement lead us to cherish the belief that they were not alone; but of the men whose presence can be affirmed scarcely one is missing from the annals of the war and, no strange thing for a company of young men in such a youthful country, most of them had careers of distinction still awaiting them.

Even the graduating class could claim a share in the war just ended; for Ashbel Green, the valedictorian, had served in the army before he had ever thought of college, and Nathaniel Lawrence,[1] who had formerly been a student at Princeton and was now to receive his degree as a member of the Class of 1783, was a captain in the 2d North Carolina regiment and for nearly two years had suffered on Long Island the hardships of a prisoner of war in British confinement.

Dr. John Witherspoon, who with consciousness of patriotic duty well done had returned to build up the totter-

[1] See North Carolina State Records, Vol. 16, pp. 881, 939.

ing institution on whose behalf that day he acted as host, presided in academic gown and his gratification at the éclat attending this the fifteenth anniversary of his first Commencement as president of the College of New Jersey was said to be plainly visible.

Conspicuous in his buff and blue, the cynosure of all eyes, was General Washington, who had ridden in from Rocky Hill that morning to honor the occasion with his presence. Beside him was the Continental Congress grouped about Elias Boudinot, its distinguished president. In that body it would have been easy to mark the classic head and snow white hair of Charles Thomson, its cultured secretary, and in contrast the youthful countenance of James Madison of Virginia, the most brilliant of the younger generation, or the still more youthful face of Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, who was yet in his twenties, but who had not been too young to serve in the war as Washington's staff interpreter.

Not far from Madison sat his classmate, Gunning Bedford of Delaware, who too had been one of Washington's aides. Another Virginian was Dr. Arthur Lee, who after an education at Eton and Edinburgh had renounced medicine for law and law for politics, and then had served more or less successfully as one of the American Commissioners at Paris during the war. James Tilton, Richard Peters, Theodoric Bland and Thomas Fitzsimmons had all at one time or another commanded troops. Richard Peters became Secretary of the Board of War and Commissioner of War. James Tilton, who had abandoned a lucrative medical practice to enter the army, had rendered valuable service when in charge of military hospitals in New Jersey. Colonel Bland, too, had left medicine for active military service and had captained the first troop of Virginia cavalry, and won promotion by his brilliant work. Still another doctor was James McHenry

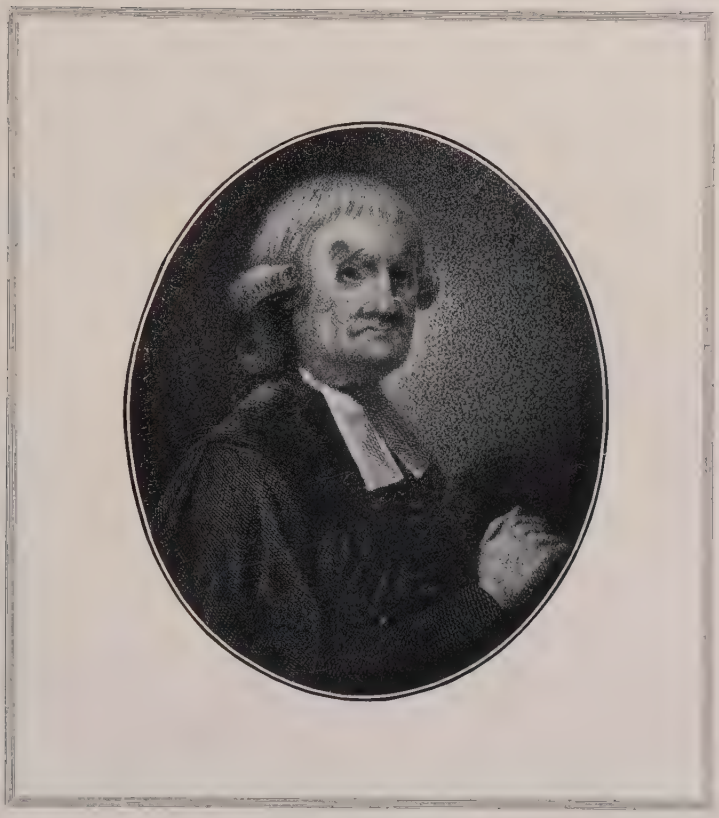
who had studied under Benjamin Rush, and had entered the army as assistant surgeon in 1776, becoming Medical Director. Hugh Williamson and Samuel Holten also boasted medical diplomas. James Duane, Elbridge Gerry, William Ellery and Abraham Clark were old familiar figures; they had served almost continuously from the outset of the struggle for independence, and the last three had signed their names to the Declaration. Oliver Ellsworth had left Congress by this time, and so also had Alexander Hamilton, the ablest man of them all. Diplomatic circles were represented by the French Minister, the Marquis de la Luzerne.[1]

Among the Trustees of the college who were present[2] we find a number of leading Revolutionary Presbyterian names: the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, "the most accomplished clergyman of his day" who had been chaplain of General Heath's Brigade in 1776, and whose churches in Wall Street and Beekman Street, New York, had been used by the British as a barracks and a hospital and then left in ruins; the Rev. Dr. Elihu Spencer whose ardent advocacy of the cause of independence had made him a special object of hatred to the Tories; the Rev. John Woodhull (Princeton, 1766), the Leacock pastor who had induced his male parishioners to shoulder muskets to Valley Forge, accompanying them as chaplain; the Rev. Dr. George Duffield (Princeton, 1752) one of the "sturdiest and most vivacious of the Revolutionary preachers"[3] who had served as chaplain during the war and on whose head a price had been set by the enemy; and

[1] New Jersey local historians, relying on Ashbel Green's autobiography, keep repeating the statement that the Dutch Minister, M. Van Berckel, was also present. But Van Berckel did not land on American soil until October.

[2] The complete list is James Boyd, John Bayard, George Duffield, Timothy Johns, John Mason, Alexander McWhorter, John Rodgers, Azel Roe, Robert Smith, William Peartree Smith, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Isaac Snowden, Elihu Spencer, John Woodhull and Elias Boudinot.

[3] M. C. Tyler, Lit. Hist. Am. Revol., Vol. 2, p. 312.



JOHN WITHERSPOON

[*From the engraving drawn from life by T. Trotter, published in 1785*]

the Rev. Dr. Alexander McWhorter (Princeton, 1757) chaplain of Knox's Artillery Brigade. Among the lay trustees were Col. John Bayard, the Philadelphia merchant, patriot and ex-Congressman who had fought at Brandywine, Germantown, Trenton and Princeton, and had received the personal commendation of Washington for his bravery in the latter engagement; Jonathan Bayard Smith (Princeton, 1760), one of the first espousers of the Revolutionary cause in Philadelphia and also an ex-member of Congress. And finally, as reminders of the old colonial days which had gone forever, William Peartree Smith and the Rev. Dr. Timothy Johnes, the last two of the original trustees of the college. Of the eight Princeton graduates who received the Master's degree, three, Jonathan Dayton, Morgan Lewis, and Aaron Ogden, had served with distinction on the battlefield. One might have counted on that platform seven signers of the Declaration of Independence[1] and nine signers of the Articles of Confederation.[2] Four had signed both of these instruments.[3] Eleven were to affix their names to the Constitution[4] a few years later and one other, Elbridge Gerry, attended the Constitutional Convention but did not sign. One ex-president of Congress, Samuel Huntington, and two future Presidents of the United States, Washington and Madison, were there. A future President of Princeton, young Ashbel Green, delivered the valedictory, while still another, Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, assisted Witherspoon in the details of that morning's ceremony.

[1] Abraham Clark, William Ellery, William Floyd, Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Huntington, James Wilson, John Witherspoon.

[2] Daniel Carroll, John Collins, James Duane, William Ellery, Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Holten, Samuel Huntington, Jonathan B. Smith, John Witherspoon.

[3] Samuel Huntington, William Ellery, Elbridge Gerry, John Witherspoon.

[4] Gunning Bedford, Daniel Carroll, Jonathan Dayton, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Nathaniel Gorham, James McHenry, James Madison, John Rutledge, George Washington, Hugh Williamson, James Wilson.

For national interest this Commencement group is probably unparalleled in American academic history.

Seated together in the audience were the members of the New Jersey branch of the Society of the Cincinnati. The Society's Minutes show that General Elias Dayton, who commanded the famous Jersey Brigade, was there with Colonel Jonathan Forman, Major Richard Cox and Dr. Ebenezer Elmer. Its secretary, Andrew Hunter (Princeton, 1772), had been a chaplain in the army.

To F. Michaelis, the eavesdropping English officer already mentioned, we are indebted for a curious account of the exercises of the day. As we would expect, he saw and heard nothing that pleased him; and his detailed observations on the character of Washington and the members of Congress make good reading if poor history. Of Witherspoon and Commencement he has this to say:

An account of the present face of things in America would be very defective indeed if no mention was made of this political firebrand, who perhaps had not a less share in the Revolution than Washington himself. He poisons the minds of his young students and through them the Continent.

He is the intimate friend of the General; and had I no other arguments to support my ideas of Washington's designs, I think his intimacy with a man of so different a character with his own (for Washington's private one is perfectly amiable) would justify my suspicions.

The commencement was a favourable opportunity for conveying certain sentiments to the public at large (for even women were present) . . . This farce was evidently introductory of the drama that is to follow. The great maxim which this commencement was to establish was the following: — "A time may come in every Republic, *and that may be the case with America*, when anarchy makes it the duty of the man who has the majority of the people with him, to take the helm into his own hands, in order to save his country; and the person who opposes him deserves the utmost revenge of his nation, deserves — to be sent to Nova Scotia. Vox populi vox dei.

These were the very words of the Moderator who decided on the question, — was Brutus justifiable in killing Caesar? Or they thought us all who heard them blockheads, or they were not afraid of avowing their designs. This was plainer English still than the pactum confederationis of the Cincinnati. When the young man who with a great deal of passionate claquerie defended his favorite Brutus extolled the virtue of the man who could stab even his father when attempting the liberties of his country, I thought I saw Washington's face clouded; he did not dare to look the orator in the face who stood just before him, but with downcast look seemed wishing to hide the impression which a subject that touched him so near, had I thought very visibly made on his countenance . . . The orations of the younger boys were full of the coarsest invectives against British tyranny. I will do Mr. Wetherspoon the justice to think he was not the author of them, for they were too poor indeed; besides they evidently conveyed different sentiments; there was one of them not unfavorable to liberal sentiments even towards Britons. But upon the whole it is but just to suppose that Wetherspoon had read them all.

The Minister of Peace was not present, though expected; but I have a right to think that *all* or almost all the members of Congress and all the Cincinnati in the neighborhood assisted at this entertainment. The Cincinnati sat together en corps.[1]

Of two orations at least, delivered at that Commencement and which have survived the lapse of time, it may be said that they contain nothing that could by any stretch of imagination be classed as "coarse invective against British tyranny." That the war should be touched on was only reasonable. Elsewhere, Commencement speakers might have failed to allude with pride to its successful termination, but at Princeton this was impossible. The College of New Jersey had nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to regret, in that strife.

Washington, of course, was the chief guest of the occa-

[1] Bancroft MSS., Carleton Papers, 36, Amer. 2, p. 225.

sion, and both the orations mentioned above contain laudatory reference to him.

The first was delivered by one of the boys of the college grammar-school, in the annual public oratorical contest of the graduation exercises the evening before Commencement Day. His name has not come down although the *Pennsylvania Packet* published his composition a few days later. It contains this paragraph of thinly-veiled compliment:

I bless God, too, that while I shall be employed in examining the various opinions of philosophers respecting those qualities which constitute true greatness, I live at a time and in a country where I have the honor and hope to feel the advantage of seeing exhibited in one character, a living example of them all. — I will not attempt his praise. — His superior worth is acknowledged over all the world; it is deeply felt in the hearts of his fellow citizens, and will, I trust, not only continue to inspire the most grateful recollection of his inestimable services, but also to inspire some portion of the same spirit of true patriotism, that has excited those glorious efforts which, by the blessing of Providence have effectuated the political salvation of this happy country.[1]

Ashbel Green, the valedictorian of the graduating class, took full advantage of the prerogatives of his office, and in his speech the climax of Commencement Day's interest was reached. After bidding the customary farewell to the trustees, president, faculty, graduates, and undergraduates of the college, the orator thanked the members of Congress, "Illustrious Senators of America," for the honor of their presence, assuring them that

The faithful historian, some American Livy or Robertson, shall tell to ages yet unborn, the deeds of those patriots whose virtue, wisdom and perseverance, procured the blessings which they enjoyed; and as wise, virtuous and firm as the American Congress, shall be a compliment to the legislators of futurity.

[1] See Appendix V.

Then turning to Washington, he continued amid the breathless attention of the audience and the visible embarrassment of the General:

Nor in that day, illustrious and magnanimous chief, shall thy actions and thy exploits be unrecorded. Some future bard, whom all the muses love — oh, that it might be some happy son of Nassau Hall, shall tell in all the majesty of epic song, the man whose prudent conduct, and whose gallant sword, taught the tyrants of the earth to fear oppression, and opened an asylum for the virtuous, and free to all the world. But, adventurous bard, whoever thou art, beware. Leave poetic fiction and ornament to those whose themes require it; the greatest panegyric of my hero is his true character.

The next day, so Ashbel Green tells us in the autobiography he wrote almost three score years later, he happened to meet Washington in one of the corridors of Nassau Hall. The General stopped him and congratulated him on his oration, and after a few minutes' conversation left him the flattered bearer of words of well-wishing to his classmates.

The trustees of the college at no time took any official notice of the presence of Congress at Princeton; but they not could repress their enthusiasm for the Commander in Chief, and on returning from the Commencement exercises they sought to testify to their respect for him. They did not even offer, much less give, the empty formal tribute of an honorary degree; but in their manuscript minutes may be read this paragraph:

"The board being desirous to give some testimony of their high respect for the character of his excellency general Washington, who has so auspiciously conducted the armies of America.

Resolved, that the Rev^{d}-Drs Witherspoon, Rodgers & Jones, be a committee to wait upon his Excellency to request him to sit for his picture to be taken by Mr Charles Wilson Peale of Philadelphia — And, ordered that his portrait, when finished be placed in the hall of

the college in the room of the picture of the late king of Great Britain, which was torn away by a ball from the american artillery in the battle of Princeton.

Adjourned till to morrow morning 9 o'clock.

25th day; the board met according to adjournment.

Dr Witherspoon reported that his Excellency Genl. Washington had delivered to him fifty guineas which he begged the trustees to accept as a testimony of his respect for the college.

Resolved, that the board accept it; & that the same committee who were appointed to sollicit his Excellency's picture, at the same time present to him the thanks of the board for this instance of his politeness & generosity.[1]

No compliment could have been more delicate and tactful than this request. By seeking to perpetuate the memory of its favorite hero, the College of New Jersey, which had supported the Revolution so long and so loyally, and had suffered as no other educational institution in the land for its championing the cause of liberty, could not have closed more felicitously its Revolutionary service, sealed the recollection of those dark days, and honored him who had turned those days into light. And some recognition of the debt he owed to Princeton, its building, its president, its graduates and its townsmen, some grateful thought of the pivotal battle he had won on the frozen slopes hard by the village, must have been in Washington's mind when he made his gift to the college.[2] The portrait was painted by Peale, and a year later was hung in the prayer hall[3] in the old gilt frame from which George the Second used to frown down upon his embryo rebels.

[1] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Vol. 1, p. 236, September 24th and 25th, 1783.

[2] Washington's opinion of Princeton may be found in his correspondence with his adopted son G. W. Parke Custis who was a student there 14 years later.

[3] "Mr. C. W. Peale having executed a portrait of his Excellency Genl Washington, according to the order of the board — Ordered that it be hung up in the college Hall agreeably to a former resolution." (Minutes, Vol. 1, p. 245, September 29th, 1784.) The portrait is still in Nassau Hall. See Frontispiece.

CHAPTER X

THE RESIDENCE DEBATE

WITH the ushering in of October the time was at hand for the debate on the selection of a site for the location of a permanent national capital. The important bearing of this question's decision on the future of the country was fully realized; and as a preliminary step each State had been advised of the forthcoming debate and had been requested to make an offer of a site for the capital if it so desired. It was very plain, however, that the favored spot would be located either in one of the middle-eastern or in one of the middle-southern States, and between these two sections of the country the rivalry soon became keen. The northern and southern extremes were out of the question; the west was unthought of. All summer long only a hint at the subject had been needed to arouse a heated discussion within the cool stone walls of Nassau Hall. Moreover, the selection of a permanent seat of government obviously involved that of a temporary substitute to be used until the special administrative and residential buildings which would have to be erected at the permanent site, should be ready for occupancy. The presence of Congress, even as a transient guest, meant much in a business way to any place thus honored. To Philadelphia, for example, it was said to have meant $100,000 a year; and at Princeton the President's Household alone gave to one merchant an average of a thousand dollars' worth of business each month. Added to the business gain was the social prestige. Arguing then that possession was nine points of the law, an advantage was thought to be given to whatever State should manage to

keep Congress, if only temporarily. The rivalry for the temporary residence was therefore as intense and personal as that for its more important successor.

Philadelphia had many supporters, who based her qualifications on her past record. Philadelphia had been the seat of government six years out of the seven of that government's existence, and it was fondly believed that if Congress could be got back for the time being to its old quarters, Pennsylvania would be almost assured of the decision on a permanent capital. The expected arrival of a Minister Plenipotentiary from Holland, said to be on his way, was urged as one reason for a return to Philadelphia. There, and there better than anywhere else, he and other foreign representatives, who were also thought to be coming, could be properly entertained.[1] It was also declared that unless Congress did return to Philadelphia the Union was in danger of dissolution; the great State of Pennsylvania would be "so Convulsed" that it would not be "in a capacity of Contributing to the Necessities of the United States." Let us go back for only six weeks, men said, to show that no resentment is harbored against the city, and all will be "Peace & Quiet"; then if Congress should remove from the city "there would be no blame or uneasiness."[2] But the opponents of Philadelphia were determined that Congress should not return. The Southern states voted solidly together on this point, as on nearly everything else, and the other candidates for the honor of Congressional residence saw no advantage to be derived from tempting Providence in allowing Congress to return for any conciliatory visit, were it never so short.

Valiant attempts to get Congress back had not been wanting. In a previous chapter it has been noted that on

[1] Clinton MSS., 5165, L'Hommedieu to Clinton, August 22d.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5157, L'Hommedieu to Clinton, August 15th.

July 2d, at the very beginning of the Princeton session when it was learned that General Howe's detachment was on its way to Philadelphia, Mr. Mercer had tried to effect a return to the Pennsylvania capital. Again, on the last day of that month Mr. Read moved that "on the —— the president shall adjourn Congress to meet in Philadelphia, on —— there to continue until the last Monday in October next, at which time the president shall again adjourn Congress to meet at Annapolis on the Friday following, unless Congress shall before that time have determined otherwise." This coming up on August 1st, Mr. Bland moved to fill the first blank with "August 8th" and the second with "August 12th," and also to strike out the clause, "there to continue . . . otherwise." The clause was struck out, and Mr. Lee then moved, and it was ordered, that Wednesday the 6th be appointed for the consideration of the amended motion. But, before the 6th arrived the friends of the measure, foreseeing its defeat and believing that no great good would result from allowing the vote to go on record, withdrew it. "The more moderate opponents," says Madison, "concurred in the inexpediency of proclaiming unnecessarily an aversion in Cong^s to Philad^a, But some of this class were so keen in their hostility that a motion was made by two of them to return, who on the question voted solid ag^t their own motion. The public will not I believe fix on the proceeding as one of the brightest pages of the Journals. The abuses to which such an artifice may be extended are palpable. The merit of it in this application belongs to M^r. Howel of R. I. & M^r. B—d of V. The motion was first made by M^r. L. but in the course of the transaction devolved on M^r. Howel."[1]

The incident to which Madison alludes was this. On the 11th Mr. Howell seconded by Colonel Bland moved:

[1] Madison Papers, Letters of Madison, Vol. 1, p. 109, Madison to Randolph, August 18th. Gilpin's Madison Vol. 1, p. 565, Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 9. The letter as printed by Gilpin differs slightly from the above.

"That on the 15th Inst. The President adjourn Congress to meet at Philadelphia on the 21st Inst."[1] The motion came up on the 13th, when Mr. Reed attempted to have it postponed in order to consider a motion of his own, namely:

Whereas the resolution of Saturday the 21st day of June last, enabling the President to summon Congress to meet at Trenton or Princeton on Thursday then next following, had for its object that further and more effectual measures might be taken for suppressing the then Existing revolt of certain troops of the Pennsylvania line & maintaining the dignity and Authority of the United States: And Whereas it is no longer found necessary or Expedient that Congress should continue at Princeton Resolved that on friday the 15th Inst the President do adjourn Congress to meet on Monday next the 21st at the City of Philadelphia — And that on the second Monday in October next the President do in like manner Adjourn Congress to meet on the monday following at Annapolis in the State of Maryland unless Congress shall in the meantime order otherwise.[2]

But Congress refused to postpone, and consideration of Mr. Howell's motion was continued. Then the delegates from Pennsylvania not seeing the trap into which they were walking moved to postpone so that a declaration made that morning by one of their number might be entered on the Journal; and the entry was made:

The delegates of Pennsylvania are authorised by the President and Council of that State to declare in the most respectful terms to Congress that their return to Philadelphia is Sincerely desired by the President and Council as an Event which would give them the Greatest Satisfaction.[3]

Debate on Mr. Howell's motion was then resumed until an adjournment was called for and carried. The

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Motions, Vol. 4, p. 201.
[2] *Journal*, August 13th and Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Vol. 2, p. 209.
[3] *Journal*, August 13th.

next day Mr. Duane with Benjamin Huntington as a second endeavored to have consideration postponed and failed; and when the question was put on the Howell motion, the result was found to be six nays to two yeas with one divided vote, while Foster, of New Hampshire, and David Howell, of Rhode Island, the mover of the motion, also voted nay, although their votes did not count, since their States were not constitutionally represented.

Of the episode Madison in the letter to Randolph already quoted had this further to say:

I know of none that will read with pleasure this affair unless it be the Executive of P^a^. and those who wish to refer the removal of Cong^s^. to *other motives* than the national dignity & welfare.

J. F. Mercer also referred to the incident in plain language:

The Question for the return to Phil^a^ had been decided in the negative prior to my arrival I must think a worthy colleague, hurried this matter on with unbecoming precipitation — & I am at a loss to reconcile with his professed, candor & openness, his making a motion with an intention of voting ag^t^. it, supported by M^r^. Howell the inventor of this ingenious, & honourable device.[1]

In vain did the Legislature of Pennsylvania try to conciliate Congress by taking every step to expiate the default of its Executive save the extreme one of impeachment which some of the more violent members of Congress had demanded.[2] In vain was the public banquet, mentioned earlier in these pages, arranged for the officers of the army; successful though it was as a social function it failed utterly in its more subtle duty. In vain did the State offer to Congress the same quarters it had formerly occupied in Philadelphia; and in vain were the financial

[1] Madison Papers, Letters to Madison, Vol. 13, p. 111, August 14th.

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 569; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 16. Madison to Randolph, September 8th.

recommendations of Congress unanimously adopted. Madison thought that this very complaisance by its obviousness of purpose would "be far from softening the dislike" entertained by many for Philadelphia. He believed that the city would continue to be "obnoxious while it contains and respects an *obnoxious Character*."[1] On September 5th Dr. McHenry, with Arthur Lee seconding him, moved that on Friday the 12th a decision be made on a temporary residence for Congress; but the 12th saw no meeting and nothing tending toward a decision is to be found in the Journal until October. The subject of jurisdiction came up instead; and Madison who had postponed his return to Virginia partly on account of his interest in the residence debate admitted to Thomas Jefferson that he doubted if either the permanent or temporary residence would be selected that winter; in which case of course Congress would remain at Princeton.[2]

The question as to what jurisdiction Congress should exercise over a federal residence had been relegated to a committee in July. On the 28th of that month Madison had written to Randolph informing him of the fact and pointing out the constitutional perplexities that entered into its consideration. The more the subject was viewed the less easy, said he, did it become to mark the just boundary between the authority of Congress and that of the State, and between the authority of Congress and the privileges of the citizens of the State. "May it not also be made a question" he asks "whether, in constitutional strictness, the gift of any State, without the concurrence of all the rest, can authorize Congress to exercise any powers not delegated by the Confederation, — as Congress, it would seem, are incompetent to every act not

[1] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 568; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 13. Madison to Randolph, August 30th.

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 572; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 19. Madison to Jefferson, September 20th.

warranted by that instrument, or some other flowing from the same source." [1]

The committee which had this matter under investigation was composed of seven members, Duane, Read, McHenry, Huntington, Peters, Wilson and Madison. On September 18th they reported that two points had seemed to require their consideration; first, the extent of the district necessary for the proposed federal residence, and second, the powers to be exercised by Congress in that district. They therefore moved in the first place that the United States in Congress assembled ought to enjoy exclusive jurisdiction over the district ceded and accepted for the site of a permanent residence; and in the second place that the district so ceded and accepted ought not to exceed six, nor fall short of three, square miles in extent.[2] September 22d was assigned for consideration of this report, and on that date it was referred to a committee of the whole to sit on Thursday the twenty-fifth. After spending some time in its discussion, no details of which have revealed themselves to long search, the chairman, Mr. Carroll, reported progress and desired leave for the committee to sit again on the twenty-sixth. The Journal does not mention any further debate on the question, but among the reports of the committees of the Continental Congress are at least two undated and unendorsed documents bearing what cannot be other than resolutions on the jurisdiction question. The first reads:

That the State or States ceding the territory in which Congress shall determine to fix their permanent residence, should give up all jurisdiction whatsoever, over the territory so ceded, & the People inhabiting therein.

Res^d^ That the appointment of Judges & the executive power within the said territory, should vest in Congress.

[1] Madison to Randolph, July 28th. Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 559; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 4.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 23, p. 149.

Res^d. that the People inhabiting within the said territorry, should enjoy the privilege of trial by Jury, & of being governed by Laws made by Representatives of their own election.[1]

The second is as follows:

That the district which may be ceded to & accepted by Congress for their permanent residence, ought to be entirely exempted from the authority of the State ceding the same; and the organization & administration of the powers of Gov^t. within the s^d. district concentrated between Congress & the inhabitants thereof.[2]

The first of these documents was evidently considered by Bancroft[3] to be the adopted report of the committee of the whole, although the references to Madison's correspondence cited by him in his footnote offer no support of his opinion. The documents themselves bear no identifying marks and the phraseology of the sentence referring to jurisdiction in Mr. Gerry's residence motion of October 7th would seem to show that Congress had not settled the question before the residence debate began.

On October 6th according to agreement the debate on the permanent residence opened with eleven States formally present, while New Hampshire showed but one representative and Georgia as usual none. In order to confine the discussion within reasonable limits Mr. Gerry, with Mr. Holten seconding, moved that the house go into committee of the whole to consider the propositions of only the States from New York to Virginia inclusive. This was negatived. Then he moved with Mr. Foster seconding that the whole discussion be postponed, which motion was also negatived, as was its successor by Mr. Howell, with Ellery seconding, that the discussion be postponed until the last Monday of the month. It was

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 93.
[2] *Ibid.*, 23, p. 161.
[3] Vol. 6, p. 98.

then resolved to go down the list of States in the order in which they stood beginning with New Hampshire.

New Hampshire and Massachusetts were declined as candidates without even a call for yea and nay votes, and Rhode Island received only the vote of her own representatives. Connecticut also was rejected without hesitation and without a yea and nay vote. New York[1] had to be content with the votes of her own representatives and those of Connecticut, with half a vote from Rhode Island, Mr. Ellery being satisfied with New York as a residence.

New Jersey received the votes of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, beside those of her three representatives, Mr. Boudinot himself calling for the yeas and nays.[2]

[1] On March 20th, 1783, Governor Clinton had sent to President Boudinot the act of the corporation of Kingston on the Hudson, and the joint resolution of both houses of the Legislature respecting a permanent residence of Congress in that township, offering exclusive jurisdiction over the district and enclosing a map of the same. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 1.)

Lewis Morris had offered the manor of Morrisania, N. Y., for permanent residence and his memorial is dated September 30th. It was delayed on the road and did not reach Congress until October 18th. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 125, and 78, Vol. 14, p. 547.)

[2] Four different offers had come from New Jersey. On June 19th Ephraim Harris, Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, had forwarded to president Boudinot the resolution of the Legislature asking Congress to make its permanent residence in New Jersey and also enclosing the proceedings of the inhabitants of the township of Nottingham in the county of Burlington relative thereto, and a map. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 35.) On July 16th had been read the Newark address which has already come under our notice. On August 4th the inhabitants of New Brunswick and vicinity drew up an address modestly suggesting "the Banks of the Raritan, as not being unworthy of their Attention" (*i. e.*, of Congress) for the site of a permanent residence. The authors of the address "forbear to describe the place, or to enumerate its Advantages . . . Let the Place speak for itself; Let Impartial men declare its Beauties and point out its defects; Your Addressers wish to be silent on the occasion." Whatever jurisdiction Congress might think proper to require would be agreed to. A committee composed of Azariah Dunham, chairman of the meeting, Moses Scott, John Taylor, John Neilson, Frederick Frelinghuysen and William Paterson brought the address to Princeton and presented it on August 5th. It was referred to Messrs. Higginson, Clark and Read on

Pennsylvania[1] met with a solid phalanx of nays, Mr. Read of South Carolina being the only member not from

August 11th, and on their report the next day the President was directed to thank the inhabitants of New Brunswick for their congratulations and their patriotic sentiments. But nothing was said about residence "on the Banks of the Raritan." (*Ibid.*, 46, pp. 95 and 99, and 20, Vol. 2. p. 290.) On August 23d General Elias Dayton enclosed to President Boudinot the resolves of the magistrates and inhabitants of Elizabethtown offering that place and a hundred acres, with absolute jurisdiction, for a permanent residence. In any case, no town, said they, would "be better prepared, & more active to resent the least insult that may be offered to that honorable body." (*Ibid.*, 46, pp. 103 and 109.) This was read in Congress on the 25th and referred to Messrs. Duane, Wilson, Read, McHenry, and Madison. Their report was delivered September 10th, and President Boudinot was instructed to inform General Dayton "that Congress entertained a just sense of the affectionate address of the Inhabitants of the Township of Elizabeth." (*Ibid.*, 46, p. 107.) The continuation of the sentence was struck out: "and their generous Invitation to make the Borough of Elizabeth the future residence of Congress. And highly applaud the readiness and pleasure with which the Inhabitants of Elizabeth profess themselves prepared to submit to such Jurisdiction as may be Necessary to be established for the Effectual Support of the Honour Dignity Independence and Constitutional Authority of the Supreme head of the American Union."

Although no formal offer of a site for a permanent residence was made by the inhabitants of Princeton, yet it was not altogether unthought of. A slight but significant indication is the fact that the qualifying words "during the present tumult" are struck out of the June 26th address to Congress. Colonel Morgan, it will be remembered, stated that two or three hundred acres were open to the valuation of Congress and building materials and workmen were obtainable at short notice if Congress desired to build. The trend of President Boudinot's mind may be discerned from his remark to his brother in the letter of June 23d already quoted, in which he asks for the troop of horse and then says: "I wish Jersey to show her readiness on this occasion as it may fix Congress as to their permanent residence." And finally David Howell writing from Princeton on August 24th to Moses Brown and referring to the permanent residence question, says: "There are some considerations of weight in favour of this State & even of this Spot. It is nearly in the Center of the population & wealth of the U. S. This is a small State & therefore its influence is not to be feared. It will never be a very wealthy State, not being calculated for commerce; it may therefore preserve the purity of its manners as long as any; & even its Liberty; for corruption follows luxury, & Luxury Wealth." (Rhode Island Hist. Soc., Moses Brown Papers, Vol. 4, Doc. 1053, p. 55.) In January, 1784, George Davis of Trenton sent to Congress a description of his two farms at Maidenhead, thinking that they might be desirable to members when Congress should be sitting at Trenton. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 8, pp. 51, 55.)

[1] The offer of the citizens of Germantown was dated September 4th and was signed by over 400 persons inviting Congress "to establish the grand council of

Pennsylvania to vote in favor of that State, As for Delaware, Messrs. Bedford and Tilton of that State voted aye and Rhode Island, Maryland and South Carolina were divided, but every other State cast a negative ballot. Maryland received only the votes of the four southern States.[1]

Virginia received the divided votes of South Carolina and Massachusetts, besides those of her own five representatives, Read of South Carolina and Gerry of Massachusetts voting with them.[2]

the Nation" in their midst. It was hardly necessary they said to mention "the beautiful Situation, salubrious Air, excellent Water, plentiful Market, extensive Pastures, fertile Soil and Contiguity to one of the most flourishing commercial Cities in the Union:" they would therefore only say that if Congress would come "there is a commodious public Building which contains ample Room for their Meetings and convenient Apartments for the public Officers at their immediate Service, until more suitable Edifices can be erected for which Purpose the most agreeable Spots may be procured"; and they further stated that there were a number of houses, "some of them not ineligant" at the disposal of the members, and private families also which would "do all in their Power to supply any Deficiency that may arise from the want of entire Houses." This document was read in Congress on September 11th and tabled. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 117.)

[1] On May 30th a certified copy of the act of the Maryland Legislature offering Annapolis as a permanent residence had been sent to Congress in a joint letter from the president of the State Senate and the speaker of the House together with the act of the corporation of Annapolis dated May 12th. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, pp. 15, 31.) On November 10th, after the residence debate was over, Congress received an offer from the commissioners of the town of Charlestown at the head of the Chesapeake. Deference to the Legislature's decision to offer Annapolis as the federal residence had led them to keep silent; but now that Annapolis had been declined and two residences had been chosen more or less conditionally, the commissioners begged to offer Charlestown, and to "express their own and the Desire of Many that only one Foederal Town be built." Charlestown was centrally located between the two chosen places; Congress passing through to Annapolis might perhaps examine the site "before a Resolve of such vast Consequence to their Constituents and their Posterity be carried into Execution." The document is signed by David L. Corbet, David Smith, Nathan Norton, Dieterick Heiss, and Edward Beazley. (*Ibid.*, 78, Vol. 6, p. 219.)

[2] June 28th the Legislature of the State offered the city of Williamsburg as a permanent residence and if Congress would decide to accept, a tender was also made of "the Palace, the Capitol and all the public buildings and three hundred Acres of land adjoining the said city together with a Sum of money not exceeding

The two Carolinas with Georgia, which was unrepresented by even a single delegate, were negatived without delay and it was then resolved to make the residence question the order of the day for tomorrow. On Tuesday, the 7th, an interruption was caused by the arrival of a deputation from the yearly meeting of the Quakers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware and the western part of Maryland and Virginia, who craved permission to present an address to Congress. It was agreed that the address be received the next day at noon and the residence debate went merrily on. To Mr. Gerry belongs the honor of making the first officially recorded mention of the present site of the national capital. He moved that the buildings for the use of Congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware near Trenton or of the Potomac near Georgetown, provided a suitable district could be procured for a federal town and that the right of soil and such other jurisdiction as Congress should direct should be vested in the United States. Gunning Bedford moved to strike out the names of the towns mentioned and on a yea and nay vote managed to carry his point. Mr. Duane, not content with New York's experience of the day before, then moved to have the Hudson added to the fluminary candidates, but his State was alone in favoring the proposition. Mr. Carroll then endeavored to have the amended motion postponed in order to consider the following: "That Congress do on behalf of the United States accept the offer made by the legislature of the State of Maryland by their act of —— for the residence

one hundred thousand pounds this States Currency to be paid at five annual Installments and to be expended in erecting thirteen Hotels for the Use of the Deligates in Congress." A territory of five miles square was also offered and entire jurisdiction. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 55.) This munificent offer was read in Congress on July 16th and a week later the proceedings of the inhabitants of Williamsburg relative to Congressional jurisdiction were also read and were pigeonholed by Messrs. Duane, Wilson, Read, McHenry and Madison. (*Ibid.*, 46, p. 89.)

of Congress." But on the postponement Maryland alone voted on the affirmative, with Connecticut, Delaware and South Carolina divided. The main question — that buildings be erected on the banks of the Delaware or the Potomac — was then carried, and the battlefield was narrowed down.

Against heavy odds the southern members argued for the Potomac. They declared that geographically the centre of the United States, viewed lengthwise, was at least as far south as Georgetown, and viewed breadthwise it was actually a hundred miles south of Georgetown; government should look to the future and bear in mind the numerous States that would of necessity rise out of the western territory; already population was 300,000 larger south of the Delaware than northeast of it, and it was daily increasing southward; as for the climate, it was very good as far as the falls of the Potomac, and anyway "none of us was to expect personal immortality on the Globe;" the dignity and duration of the United States would depend on its regard for justice and equality, and the southern States had a right to this consideration; and finally, if unwisely or for selfish reasons the federal city were erected in a corner of the country, posterity would laugh at it and soon desert it.[1] But these arguments were not sufficiently convincing, although for a time it looked as if they had won over their opponents;[2] and when at length the Delaware site was put to vote the result stood seven to four in its favor, New Hampshire's ballot, cast by Mr. Foster for the affirmative, being uncounted. The four negatives came from Maryland, Virginia and the two Carolinas.

[1] N. C. State Records, Vol. 16, p. 909. It is an interesting and pertinent fact that the Census records show the centre of population has scarcely moved from the latitude then claimed.

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 576. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 24. Madison to Randolph, October 13th.

Thus after an unexpectedly short debate of two days it was decided that the federal city should be located on the banks of the Delaware, and when Mr. Bedford had offered the motion that Wilmington be the honored spot, and had received the votes of Maryland and South Carolina alone, it was resolved that the site be near the falls at Trenton, and a committee consisting of Messrs. Gerry, Huntington, Peters, Duane and Clarke was appointed to visit the falls, inspect the country in its neighborhood, and report a district suitable for carrying into effect the wishes of the majority. And it was then agreed that the temporary residence of Congress be the order of the day for to-morrow.

The result of the debate hit the southern members hard, and the next morning, October 8th, Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, supported by Read of the sister State, moved to reconsider the vote in order to choose some more central locality "more favorable to the union," and which would "approach nearer to that justice which is the due to the southern states." But the eastern and middle States voted him down. Five were for and six against reconsideration. North Carolina claimed a partial victory in the gain of one vote over the result of the vote on the residence question. As her delegates wrote to Governor Martin, "though in this attempt we failed of a revisal and repeal of a vote, it is clear that we injured the foundation."[1] But as the odd State that voted for a reconsideration was Delaware itself, the explanation may be found most probably in the courtesy of her two representatives, Gunning Bedford and James Tilton.

Whether the temporary residence was discussed or not on the 8th the Journal does not reveal. No allusion to it is to be found in the record of that day's business. At noon the sober garb and kindly mien of the

[1] N. C. State Records, Vol. 16, p. 908.

deputation of Quakers appointed to attend at that hour cleared the atmosphere and breathed peace over the troubled company. The humane memorial which they presented was the perennial prayer for the abolition of slavery. The document is a beautifully preserved manuscript of two large folio leaves. The text occupies about three quarters of the first leaf recto, and the rest of the document is crowded with signatures arranged in four columns, five hundred and thirty-five signatures in all. The memorial is as follows:

To the United States in Congress assembled

The Address of the People called Quakers.

Being through the favour of Divine Providence met as usual at this season in our annual Assembly to promote the cause of Piety and Virtue; We find with great satisfaction our well meant endeavours for the relief of an oppressed part of our fellow Men have been so far blessed, that those of them who have been held in bondage by Members of our Religious Society are generally restored to freedom, their natural and just right.

Commiserating the afflicted State into which the Inhabitants of Africa are very deeply involved by many Professors of the mild and benign doctrines of the Gospel, and afflicted with a sincere concern for the essential Good of our Country, We conceive it our indispensible duty to revive the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people in your view as an interesting subject evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of Government, as Guardians of the common rights of Mankind, and advocates of liberty.

We have long beheld with sorrow the complicated evils produced by an unrighteous commerce which subjects many thousands of the human species to the deplorable State of Slavery.

The Restoration of Peace and restraint to the effusion of human Blood we are persuaded excite in the minds of many of all Christian denominations, gratitude and thank-

fulness to the all wise Controuler of human events; but we have grounds to fear, that some forgetful of the days of Distress are prompted from avaricious motives to renew the iniquitous trade for Slaves to the African Coasts, contrary to every humane and righteous consideration, and in opposition to the solemn declarations often repeated in favour of universal liberty, thereby increasing the too general torrent of Corruption and licentiousness, and laying a foundation for future Calamities.

We therefore earnestly solicit your Christian interposition to discourage and prevent so obvious an Evil, in such manner as under the influence of Divine Wisdom you shall see meet. —

Signed in and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, and the Western parts of Maryland and Virginia dated the fourth day of the Tenth Month, 1783.[1]

On Friday the tenth the order of the day being called for the temporary residence question came up for consideration, and Mr. Bedford, seconded by Mr. Mercer, moved "That for the more convenient transaction of the business of the United States and accommodation of Congress, it is expedient for them to adjourn from their present residence."[2] Mr. Gerry, however, thought that business could be transacted in Princeton as conveniently as elsewhere, and moved to strike out the "transaction" clause, thus making the proposed removal a matter of accommodation only. But he secured only the votes of Massachusetts and Rhode Island with a divided vote from New Jersey, Mr. Condict of the latter State evidently agreeing with him, and the clause stood. On the main question there were eight yeas to the three nays of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, New Hampshire casting her solitary and useless vote also with the negative.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 43, p. 337. The indorsement informs us that the memorial lay on the table until December 18th, 1783, when it was referred to Messrs. Howell, Lee and Osgood. For the list of signatures see Appendix II.

[2] *Journal*, October 10th.

Mr. Williamson then proposed that on the last Thursday of the month (October 30th) Congress adjourn to meet at Philadelphia on the following Saturday (November 1st) to sit for the dispatch of public business until the first Monday of June, 1784, at which time the president should adjourn Congress to meet at Trenton on the Wednesday following. Mr. Duane endeavored to amend by substituting Trenton for Philadelphia in the first part of the motion and by striking out everything after the word "business." The amendment was lost, the votes thereon being divided, as Madison remarked, by the river Delaware. The main question, and the old one, of returning to Philadelphia then came up, and judging from Madison's letter to Randolph on October 13th[1] was warmly debated.

Philadelphia's proximity to Trenton, the newly chosen permanent residence, and its superior accommodations were adduced as arguments in its favor as the abode of Congress until the necessary buildings at Trenton should be ready for occupancy. If its obvious superiority in two important characteristics were passed over, such action would plainly denote a resentment on the part of Congress which was "unworthy of a Sovereign authority agst a part of its constituents which had fully expiated any offense they might have committed"; it might also turn their penitence into hatred. The moral was also drawn from the adjournment to Princeton, that removal to a small or distant place tended to check the dispatch of business, and there were matters now before Congress which the honor and the interests of the United States required should be settled as soon as possible.

On the other hand the stock objections to Philadelphia were reiterated and, as the event proved, carried the day, although had the advocates of Philadelphia been a little

[1] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 576. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 24.

more lucky the vote would have gone their way. As it turned out they secured but five affirmatives, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia and North Carolina; Maryland and South Carolina were divided; the rest voted no. Had Messrs. Rutledge and Izard, of South Carolina, who favored Philadelphia, been present, the vote of that State would have added a sixth affirmative, in which case, says Madison, it was the intention of New Jersey to add a seventh and thus carry the measure. Dr. McHenry was responsible for the division of Maryland. His zeal for Annapolis, according to Madison, induced him to persist in refusing to agree to Philadelphia until every expedient had been tried in favor of the Maryland residence. He therefore cast his lot with the eastern aversion to the Quaker City. The debate thus closed for the day without any material progress.

On Saturday the 11th Mr. Ellery opened the discussion by moving that Congress adjourn on the 22d to meet at Annapolis on the 31st, there to remain until the first Monday of June, when the president should adjourn Congress to meet at Trenton on the Wednesday following.[1] Amendments to this motion struck out everything after the word "Annapolis" and substituted the phrase "for the place of their temporary residence." The question thus amended was very nearly carried, six votes being polled for it, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia voting no, while South Carolina was divided. The arguments in favor of Annapolis, says Madison, consisted of objections to Philadelphia, and those against Annapolis were chiefly the ones which favored Philadelphia.[2]

[1] The delegates of Maryland had communicated to Congress on August 27th a letter dated the twenty-second from the Executive of the State and the mayor of Annapolis offering their official buildings for temporary occupation by Congress until a permanent site should be chosen and prepared for use. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 46, p. 113.)

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 576. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 24. Madison to Randolph, October 13th.

That Virginia should have voted against her sister State must have been a sore disappointment to Maryland. Arthur Lee, and Colonel Bland — the latter was not in his place that morning — favored Annapolis because they disliked Philadelphia, and moreover believed that the interests of Virginia would be furthered by voting for Annapolis; but their three colleagues, Madison, Mercer and Jones — the last also was absent — believed that national considerations outweighed local, and that even if the vote for Trenton as a permanent residence should be at any time in the future changed in favor of Georgetown, Virginia interests would be furthered by having Congress in Philadelphia. "They also supposed that the concurrence of the Eastern States in a temporary vote for Annapolis to take effect some weeks hence, was little to be confided in since the arrival of a colleague to the Delegate from N. Hamshire, would with the accession of Pen^a. who w^d prefer Trenton to Annapolis & be moreover stimulated by resentment, would make up seven States to reverse the removal to Annapolis."[1] Madison moreover, not unmindful of his ten-foot room with a six-foot bedfellow, felt that experience had proven that "in any small place Cong^s. are too dependent on Courtesy & favor to be exempt either in their purses or their sensibility from degrading impositions," and he tells Randolph that on the whole it is most probable that Philadelphia would be the winter abode of Congress.

But James Madison though wise was a poor prophet, and had not made sufficient allowance for the personal equation. On Monday the 13th in his absence, his colleague Mercer moved that Congress adjourn on the 15th to reassemble on the 30th at Williamsburg in Virginia; but half of Rhode Island's vote, besides the two from

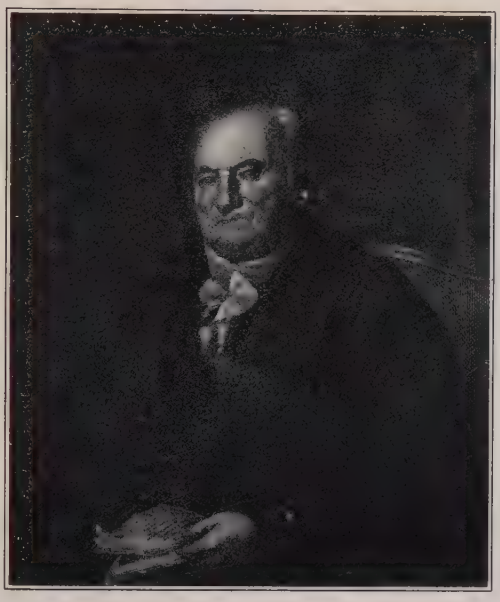
[1] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 578. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 26. Madison to Randolph, October 13th.

Virginia, was all the favor that the proposition won. And there the matter rested for the next three days. The deadlock was suddenly to be broken by an unexpected move on the part of the southern delegates in taking advantage of the unwariness of the representatives from the Middle States. As introductory to this episode, which scattered Madison's prophecy to the winds, it may be well to quote a very much disgruntled letter which President Boudinot wrote to Robert Livingston after the deed was done.

. . . Our public affairs are Truly in a disagreeable situation — I am heartly tired of my station and rejoice at my approach to obscurity — Congress you have doubtless heard, lately determined their place of residence to be near the Falls of Delaware. — This mortified the Southern Members so much, that they have manoeuvred in such a manner as to take in the Eastern Members so completely as to get them (Mr. Gerry at their head) to conform entirely to their Views and taking advantage of the absence of Pennsylvania, Jersey & Delaware, hastily passed a vote for two places of residence & fixed the other at or near George Town on the Potomac, and their temporary residence alternately year about at Annapolis & Trenton 'till their buildings are erected. The President is to adjourn Congress on the 12th Novr. to Annapolis. So that we are to be in future wandering Stars And to have our Aphilion & Perihelion — I augur great evil from this Measure & cannot help thinking of Rome & Constantinople.[1]

The facts were these. On Friday the seventeenth Mr. Gerry, with Arthur Lee seconding, offered a long resolution: as the motion of the 7th instant ordering buildings to be erected for a federal city on the banks of the Delaware did not seem to meet with the favor of a "respectable part of the United States" inasmuch as five votes had been polled in favor of a reconsideration, and

[1] Lenox Library, Livingston Papers, 1777–99, p. 495. Dated October 23d.



ELIAS BOUDINOT

[*From the engraving by A. B. Durand of Waldo & Jewett's painting published in 1825*]

it seemed to be impossible to get all to agree on any one site: and as two residences would be nearer justice to the defeated party and would be "productive of the most salutary results" by securing mutual confidence and preserving the balance of power, he moved that buildings be erected also at Georgetown on the Potomac provided a suitable district could be obtained.

Mr. Clark, of New Jersey, and Mr. Peters, of Pennsylvania, perceived at once that the importance of this proposition equalled that of the original motion to select a federal residence; and deeming that it required "special and deliberate investigation unconnected with any other object, and ought not to be determined upon a motion immediately taken up, without previous notice thereof given to the States" moved that its consideration be postponed until the first Monday of April, 1784, and that copies of it be in the meantime sent to all the State Executives. This however would have vitiated the efficacy of the whole scheme and it was forthwith rejected. Mr. Peters, with Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, then succeeded in carrying a resolution to postpone until Wednesday, October 22d. But on Monday, the twentieth, it happened that New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were represented by one delegate each, and thus were technically absent. This was the chance desired, and a motion to reconsider the postponement to Wednesday was easily passed, only one negative vote, that of New York, being tallied against it. The motion for postponement being then again put, the previous decision was reversed, the sole vote recorded against it again being New York's. It is easy to imagine the impotent rage of Mr. Boudinot, who was gnashing his teeth and calling for the yeas and nays at every step. The Gerry motion was put before the house once more, and to it Mr. Gerry added an amendment providing for the temporary residence of

Congress for equal periods of not more than one year nor less than six months at Trenton and Annapolis, until the buildings should be ready at the two proposed federal residences, and also for the adjournment of Congress on the 10th of November to meet on the 25th at Annapolis. Mr. Ellery succeeded in getting the periods limited to six months each, and then the entire limiting clause was struck out. Mr. Duane, endeavored to stem the tide by amending so as to eliminate Annapolis, and make Trenton the place of temporary residence until the permanent seats should be ready; but he met with a storm of nays and Annapolis stayed in. The amendment as amended was then put, but failed by one vote to pass, Mr. Ellery, of Rhode Island, causing a division in the vote of that State, New York of course consistently upholding the negative. On Tuesday, the 21st, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware still being unrepresented, the debate was continued and Mr. Ellery now brought forward another amendment, changing the date of the adjournment from the 10th to the 12th, and of the reassembling at Annapolis from the 25th to the 26th, and providing for temporary residence at Trenton and Annapolis in periods of not more than one year nor less than six months. This was accepted by all the States present except New York, whose members opposed the whole measure. A vote on each part of the Gerry motion being now called for, the result was accordingly found to be seven votes to one in favor of erecting buildings at Georgetown for a second permanent federal residence and seven to one in favor of the temporary residence at Trenton and Annapolis.

"Having thus succeeded" chuckled Williamson and Hawkins, "so far as to remove Congress to the Southward for six months or a year we are not without hopes that some future Congress will prevent their return to this side of the waters of Chesapeak."[1]

[1] N. C. State Records, Vol. 16, p. 909. Letter to Gov. Martin, October 24th.

Sir Guy Carleton at New York had some mistaken comments to send to Lord North in a letter which contains this paragraph referring to Congress:

Their late resolutions respecting their place of residence have offended the French Minister and Mr. Morris; the latter again talks of resigning his Office & the former says he will not follow them to Annapolis. Some of the Members think the Ministers absence would be no great misfortune, as they found his influence detrimental to the public interest while they resided at Philadelphia; others who receive French subsidies take their tone on this as on most occasions from the language of the Minister.[1]

The fact was that Vergennes ordered Luzerne not to go to Annapolis because the expense was too great and he believed moreover that no business of importance would be transacted there.[2] As for Robert Morris, his letters show that he had been trying to get quit of the finances for months past.

On October 30th, Arthur Lee moved:

That a Committee be appointed to repair to the lower Falls of the Potomac to view the situation of the Country in the vicinity of the same & report a proper district for carrying into effect the resolution of the 21st Oct.[3]

On this committee Messrs. Hawkins, Gerry, Carroll, Mercer, and Williamson were appointed, and an order was also carried that the committee appointed on the seventh to visit the falls of the Delaware report as speedily as possible.[4]

[1] Lenox Library, Bancroft MSS., Eng. and Amer., 1782, p. 387.

[2] Lenox Library, Bancroft MSS., France, 1783–85, p. 137.

[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Vol. 2, p. 277.

[4] Messrs. Gerry, Peters, Clarke, Ellery and Read reported on December 27th that three of their number — the other two not having been notified of the intended trip — went to Trenton on November 6th in company with Captain Hutchins, Geographer of the United States, and viewed the ground near the Falls of the Delaware from Howell's Ferry to Lamberton on the Jersey side and from opposite points on the Pennsylvania shore. They selected two sites so that Con-

Thus ended in a totally unexpected way the long awaited debate on the residence question. The expense and impractibility of the resulting decision did not fail to attract attention. The *Independent Gazetteer* of Philadelphia in its issue of November 1st expressed with delicate irony a thought that must have been lurking in many minds. It is contained in an innocent-looking paragraph to the effect that:

Simeon Woodenleg, an old soldier, presents his best respects to the honourable Congress and begs that before they fall to building their two federal towns, which will cost half a million of money, they would pay him the 45l. 15s. 10d. they have owed him these two years.

The double residence plan also gave Francis Hopkinson a peg on which to hang two delightful satires.[1] He viewed it in the light of a contribution to the science of mechanics as applied to politics. Taking warning from the irregularity of European political systems, America had invented a method of regulating her affairs by constructing a gigantic pendulum "of which the point of suspension is fixed somewhere in the orbit of the planet *Mars*, and the *Bob* is composed of certain heterogeneous matter of great specific gravity called the *American Congress*." The oscillations of this pendulum were to regulate the thirteen wheels of the American machine, and for the present would take place between Annapolis and Trenton, a distance of about 180 miles. By a system of checks and counterchecks the moving parts of this mar-

gress might give preference to the State which would offer the better terms while complying with the resolution respecting jurisdiction. The New Jersey site was at Lamberton; the Pennsylvania site was in the vicinity of the Falls, beginning at a hill near the mills owned by Colonels Wilson and Bird and extending a mile up the river. Captain Hutchins drew up plans for the two districts and with his comments they were submitted in connection with the report. The plans, it may be added, have not been kept with the manuscript. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 23, p. 157.)

[1] Hopkinson's Miscellaneous Essays (Philadelphia, 1792), Vol. 1, pp. 178–193.

velous mechanism were so to correct each other "that the great *desiderata*, viz., the perpetual motion, and the discovery of longitude, will no longer puzzle the brains and drain the purses of seekers in science." In order to aid foreign ambassadors in keeping track of the bob (whose movements were conceded to be somewhat erratic), a fund of 400,000 guineas was to be raised in Europe for levelling the roads between Annapolis and Trenton, building bridges, and "erecting houses of residence in each of those towns, if those can properly be called houses of residence wherein the inhabitants are to have no rest." It was also suggested that the pendulum might be swung in a horizontal circle instead of a vertical plane and Mr. David Rittenhouse, the physicist, had been asked to report on the advantages or disadvantages of this scheme. The chief objection seemed to be that a circular road would have to be cut through mountains and forests for the accommodation of ambassadors and government officers.

Hopkinson's second satire was an alleged report of a debate in Congress on the relation of the proposed equestrian statue of Washington to the double residence. By an act of Congress the statue was to be erected at the permanent residence, and this seemed hardly reconcilable with the newly ordered system of peregrination, until an ingenious member submitted a very feasible plan. The spirit of the act being to place the statue where Congress should sit, it was obvious that nothing more was needed "than to adjourn the statue whenever and wherever they should adjourn the house, which might easily be done by mounting it on wheels." And confessing his obligation to Trojan history, he proposed to have the horse of the statue built in such a way that it might be made a "most convenient vehicle to transport the members themselves, with their books, papers, &c. from one federal town to

the other." The applause at this brilliant idea was prolonged; but another member brought forward a still better plan, namely, to have two places of residence as the act of Congress required, but only one federal town, and to have the latter built on a platform which in turn should be supported on wheels. When moving day came it would be only necessary to hitch horses to the platform and start for the other place of residence. Not only would expense in building two towns be saved, but the trouble of packing and unpacking would be avoided and there would need be no interruption of public business, "for the business of the house might be going on, whilst the house itself was *going on*." As authority for the practicability of the scheme its advocate quoted from "A Voyage to the Moon" by Cyrano de Bergerac. The excessive genius of the member astonished the house and an immediate adjournment took place in order that the scheme might be pondered over.

CHAPTER XI

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

THE walls of Nassau Hall had not been able to keep reports of the debate on residence from leaking out. It had soon become noised abroad that New Jersey's lucrative guests were discussing departure.

The news roused the people of Trenton to vigorous effort and a town meeting resulted in the following document:

TRENTON 13 October 1783

We whose Names are subscribed do engage that, if Congress shall think fit to adjourn to this Place, we will furnish the Accomodations annexed to our respective Names, and render the same as convenient as possible.

Stacy Potts his Dwelling-house 42 by 33 Feet, two Stories, ten Rooms, 6 with Fire-places — a Kitchen — and Stabling for 6 Horses.

Jacob G. Bergen his Dwelling-house 45 by 42 Feet, three Stories, 11 Rooms, eight with Fire-Places — a Kitchen — and stabling for 12 Horses

George Ely his Dwelling-house 32 by 18 Feet, three Stories — 6 Rooms a fire-place in each — a Kitchen

Alexander Chambers his Dwelling-house 34 by 26 Feet, two Stories, 7 Rooms, 5 with Fire-places.

David Fick his Dwelling-house 40 by 20 Feet, a Story and Half, 7 Rooms, 4 with Fire-places — a Kitchen — Stabling for 6 Horses —

Samuel Tucker, Esq. 2 Rooms with Fire-places.

John Dixon 3 Rooms with Fire-places — 1 without — Stabling for 3 Horses

John Bell 2 Rooms with Fire-places

John James 5 Rooms, 3 of them with Fire-places — Stabling for 8 Horses

William C Houston 1 Room with a Fire-place.
Conrad Kotts 1 Room with a Fire-place — cannot board or lodge any Person — Stabling for 6 Horses.
Isaac Collins 1 Room with a Fire-place 33 x 17 Feet for an Office if wanted — cannot board or lodge any Person —
Paul Atablie 4 Rooms with Fire-places — cannot board any.
Isaiah Yard 3 Rooms 1 with a Fire-place — Stabling for 10 Horses.
A. Janney 4 Rooms with Fire-places
Hugh Runyan — Stabling for 25 Horses
Peter Hankinson 3 Rooms, 2 with Fire-places — Stabling for 2 Horses
Joseph Milnor 2 Rooms with Fire-places
Peter Crolius 3 Rooms with Fire-places — will dine 10 Persons if necessary —
Elizabeth Horton 3 Rooms, 1 with a Fire-place — will dine 6 persons if necessary —
Mary Barnes 2 Rooms with Fire-places
Micajah How 3 Rooms with Fire-places
Job Moore 1 Room with a Fire-place
Moore Furman, Esq a large office with a Fire-place
Joseph Higher 3 Rooms — 2 with Fire-places — Stabling for 4 Horses — will dine 6 Persons if requisite
Benjamin Smith 1 Room with a Fire-place
Charity Britton — Stabling for 12 Horses
Robert Quigley 1 room with a Fire-place.

Four other convenient Rooms may be had in or near the Town should they be wanted.

It is to be understood that those who furnish Rooms, also furnish Boarding, unless where it is otherwise noted. When it is not insisted on some would wish to be excused from providing Dinners, as Congress do not dine at comon Family-hours. Others would chuse to dine a larger number than they can furnish Rooms for. A room 43 by 20 Feet, with two Fire-places can be appropriated for the Meeting of Congress in one of the Houses which will be given up — (Mr Bergen's.)

Besides these above-mentioned a handsome House about 2 Miles from Town will be given up if wanted.
Good Hay in any Quantity,

M. Furman.
Wm C. Houston.
James Ewing.
Stacy Potts.
Benjn Smith.

The original signed by the Inhabitants is left in the Hands of Moore Furman, Esq.

On the back of the document is this further note by Mr. Houston:

Mr Potts will relinquish any Part of his Furniture which may be wanted.
If Mr Bergen cannot obtain another House, he must have Mr Potts' He hopes to get another, but is not certain as yet
Mr Ely will spare Furniture for a small Family
Mr Chambers the like.
Mr Fick some Furniture, but supposed scarce sufficient for a Family —
If it would be more agreeable that the Inhabitants who propose to give up their Houses should continue in them and take lodgers, that will be done as far as half the rooms at the least, either to small Families, or Individuals.— It may be that it will not suit all of them to provide Dinners.
Mr Atablie will leave furniture.
Upon careful Examination and Enquiry, am of opinion the foregoing may be depended on.

Wm C. Houston.[1]

At Princeton too, a meeting of the citizens was held at which was drawn up a statement of accommodations that would be placed at the disposal of Congress if it would remain one year or even through the winter. This document,[2] which was written by the energetic Colonel Morgan, was promptly delivered at Nassau Hall.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 2, p. 283. The manuscript is in the writing of W. C. Houston.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong. 46, p. 123.

Whereas it is represented to the Inhabitants of Princeton & its Neighbourhood
tions, & they being desirous to testify their Respect for the supreme Legislature of
agreed to furnish the best in their Power as follows, for One Year, or during the

Names	Houses to let for One Year	Rooms with Fire Places	Rooms with out Chimneys
The Revd Dr. Witherspoon	1	Three	
The Revd Dr Smith	2	Two	
Robt Stockton	3		
Thos Stockton	4	1	
Mr. Moody √	5	suitable for C	
Mrs Skelton √	6		
Ct. Moore	7	two	
Mrs Rock √	8	one	
Mr Sexton	9		
Mr Vanvorhees	10	three	
Mr Kelsey	11	two	
Mr Mc. Comb	12	two	
Mr Harrison	13	[three] two	one
Mr Stout	14	two	
Mr Beekman	15	two	
Mrs Knox √	16	two	
Mr McMechen √	17	[one]	
Mr Scot √	18 Uncertain	[one]	
Mr Finley √	19	one	
Mrs Stockton	20	The whole House in which she lives Stables &	
Mr Johnson	21	one	
Mr Lawrence	22	The House in which he lives, with large Barn,	
Mrs Berrien	23	one	
Mr Deare	24	Two	
Mrs West	25	[two] One	
Mr Little	26 If necessary—	Two	
Mrs Livingston	27	Two	
Mrs Lott	28	Two	
Mr Lott	29	one	
Coll Hyer	30	two	
Mr Harnet √	31	One large wth 6 Rooms 3 furnish'd & a Stable &	
Mr Anderson	32	[two] One	
Mr [Beaty] Seabury	33	One House, Stable & Coach House	
Mr Taylor	34	Uncertain but wishes to do all he can	
Mr Longstreet	35	One large House Stables & Coach Room—	
Coll Morgan	36	That in wch he lives Stables & Coach Room—	
Mr Wodruff	37	That in which the President lives & Stables.	
Jos. Olden	38	1	1
Mr Mollison	39	two	
Dr Wiggens	40	three	
Mr Hamilton	41	One with 7 Rooms & a Kitchen Stables and	
Mr Lawrence	.....	Two.....	.....

Beside the above, several other good Houses may be hired for One Year but at a furnish Dinners in as comfortable a Manner as they can —

Those Names mark'd thus √ do not propose to take Members of Congress but supply the best of Wines at the most reasonable Rates —

Several Persons have taken Measures for building good & large Houses in the as to be warm & comfortable, tho' he thinks the College Hall a much better Win-

From this State it is obvious that Congress can be conveniently accommodated

that the Members of the Honble Congress stand in Need of further Accommoda-
America & their Wishes for their honouring New Jersey with their Residence, have
Winter—Viz. Monday October 13th 1783.

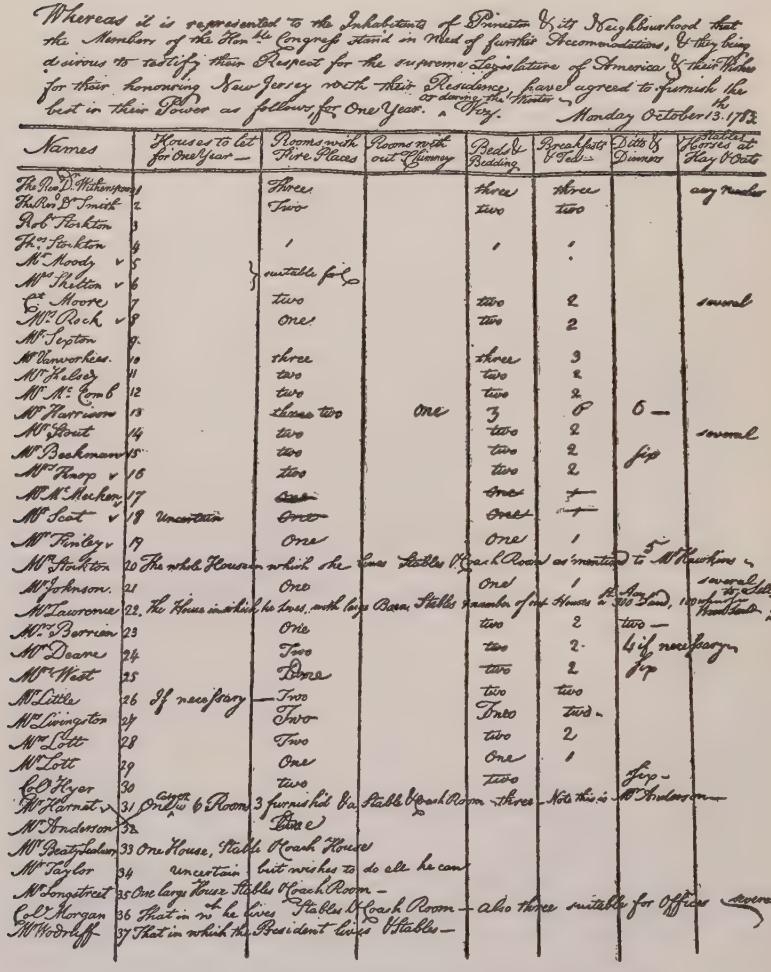
Beds & Bedding	Breakfasts & Tea—	Ditto & Dinners	Stables Horses at Hay & Oats
three	three		any Number
two	two		
1	1		
two	2		several
two	2		
three	3		
two	2		
two	2		
3	6	6—	
two	2		several
two	2	six	
two	2		
[one]	[1]		
[one]	[1]		
one	1		
Coach Room as mentioned to Mr Hawkins—			
one	1	several	
Stables, & number of out Houses wth 300 Acres Land, 100 whereof is Woodland to sell			
two	2	two—	
two	2	4 if necessary--	
two	2	six	
two	two		
[one] Two	two—		
two	2		
one	1		
two		six—	
Coach Room—three—Note this is Mr Anderson—			
also three suitable for Offices—several.			
2	2	2	
2		2	
three		six	
Coach Room— Two—			twenty

Distance of several Miles — And several House Keepers in Town will endeavor to

can accommodate Attendants. Mr Lawrence & Col^l^ Morgan will undertake to

Spring. Col^l^ Morgan will also undertake to have the Congress Room fitted up so
ter Room & there are two Fire Places in it —
at Princeton in all Respects if they agree to stay the Winter.

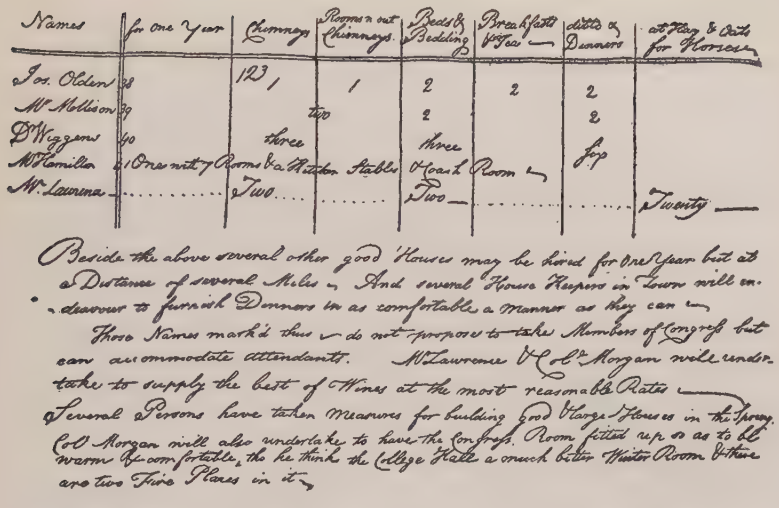
But the members of Congress did not view Jersey accommodations through rosy glasses, nor were the possibilities of Princeton and Trenton as winter residences so obvious as the good citizens of those places believed, and



Whereas it is represented to the Inhabitants of Princeton & its Neighbourhood that the Members of the Honble Congress stand in Need of further Accommodations, & they being desirous to testify their Respect for the supreme Legislature of America & their Thanks for their honouring New Jersey with their Residence, have agreed to furnish the best in their Power as follows for One Year. ^ Monday October 13. 1783

Names		Houses to Let for One Year	Rooms with Five Places	Rooms without Chimney	Beds & Bedding	Breakfast & Tea	Ditto & Dinner	Stalls for Horses at Hay & Oats
The Revd Dr Witherspoon	1		Three		three	three		any number
The Revd Dr Smith	2		Two		two	two		
Robt Parkton	3							
Fr^s Parkton	4		1		1	1		
Mr Moody	5		suitable for					
Mrs Shelton	6							
Capt Moore	7		two		two	2		several
Mr Roch	8		One		two	2		
Mr Septon	9							
Mr Vanworkes.	10		three		three	3		
Mr Kelsey	11		two		two	2		
Mr Mc Comb	12		two		two	2		
Mr Harrison	13		three two	One	3	6	6 —	
Mr Stout	14		two		two	2		several
Mr Beekman	15		two		two	2	for	
Mr Thorp	16		two		two	2		
M^r McMeken	17		two		one	1		
Mr Scot	18	Uncertain	One		One	1		
Mr Finley	17		One		One	1		
Mr Stockton	20	The whole House in which she lives			Stable & Coach Room		as mentioned	to Mr Hawkins
Mr Johnson	21		One		One	1		several
Mr Laurence	22	The House in which he lives with large Barn			Stables	a number of	Houses &	300 Yard, 100
Mrs Berrien	23		One		two	2	two —	
Mr Deane	24		Two		two	2	4 if necessary	
Mr West	25		Three		two	2	for	
Mr Little	26	If necessary —	Two		two	two		
Mr Livingston	27		Two		Two	two		
Mr Lott	28		Two		two	2		
Mr Lott	29		One		One	1		
C^l Hyer	30		two		two		for	
Mr Harnat	31	One ^ two 6 Room	3 furnished &	a Stable & Coach Room		three	Note this is	Mr Anderson
Mr Anderson	32		Three					
Mr Beatty below	33	One House, Stable & Coach House						
Mr Taylor	34	Uncertain	but wishes to	do all he can				
Mr Longstreet	35	One large Four	Stables & Coach Room —					
C^l Morgan	36	That in wch he lives	Stables & Coach Room —		also three	suitable for	Offices	several
Mr Woodruff	37	That in which the President lives	& Stables —					

PRINCETON OFFER OF ACCOMMODATIONS FOR CONGRESS.



Names	for one Year	Chimneys	Rooms without Chimneys	Beds & Bedding	Breakfasts & Tea	ditto & Dinners	at Hay & Oats for Horses
Jos. Olden	38	123	1	2	2	2	
Mr Mollison	39		two	2		2	
D.r Wiggens	40	three		three		Jop	
Mr Hamilla	One with 7	Rooms & a Kitchen	Stables	Vacant	Room		
Mr. Laurina	.....	Two	.....	Two	.....	.....	Twenty

Beside the above several other good Houses may be hired for One Year but at a Distance of several Miles — And several House Keepers in Town will endeavour to furnish Dinners in as comfortable a Manner as they can —

Those Names mark'd thus — do not propose to take Members of Congress but can accommodate attendants. Mr Lawrence & Col.o Morgan will undertake to supply the best of Wines at the most reasonable Rates —

Several Persons have taken Measures for building good large Houses in the Spring. Col.o Morgan will also undertake to have the Congress Room fitted up so as to be warm & comfortable, tho he think the College Hall a much better Winter Room & there are two Fire Places in it —

From this State it is obvious that Congress can be conveniently accommodated at Princeton in all Respects if they agree to stay the Winter

PRINCETON OFFER OF ACCOMMODATION FOR CONGRESS (Second leaf)

after reading the two statements on the 15th, Congress vouchsafed no reply other than the very suggestive one of silence. When at length the decisions of October 21st became known, Princeton at any rate realized that its days as a Congressional residence were numbered.

The last act in the passing of the Army of the Revolution was now approaching. On the 19th of September Washington had written[2] from Rocky Hill to Congress respecting the condition of the furloughed troops, specially referring to the clothing of the troops on the North River, and to the future of the corps of engineers. The paragraph regarding the furloughed troops read:

Perhaps, among the Multiplicity of public concerns, an attention to the Situation of the Troops on Furlough, may have yielded to more urgent business; but this being also a matter of importance, I take the liberty of bringing

[2] Letters of Washington, 152, Vol. II, p. 487.

it to view; as, on the footing they stand at present, a considerable expence, without the prospect of an adequate benefit, is incurred; unless the impolicy of giving by public Proclamation, authenticity to the discharges while the British forces remain in New York, can be deemed such.—

I call them discharges, because it is in this light the Furloughs have all along been considered; and no call, I am persuaded, will ever bring the common Soldiery back to their Colours—the whole matter therefore lyes, in ballancing properly between the expence of delay, and the public annunciation of an epoch which may be premature.

This was read on September 19th and referred to Messrs. Huntington, Gerry and Duane, who on the 29th reported:

That his Excellency the Commander in Chief's said Letter of the 19th Instant respects three Particulars

First Cloathing for the Troops of the North River—

Secondly The Troops on Furlough in pursuance of the Acts of Congress of the 26th of May & the 11th of June and the 9th of August last

Thirdly The Corps of Engineers—

Your Committee beg leave to observe that sufficient provision is already made on the first of these Heads by the Act of Congress of the · · · day of · · · Instant.

That with regard to the last it is still under the Deliberation of your Committee, and it appears difficult to make any Report thereon untill the settlement of the Peace-establishment.

With regard to the second Object—vizt, the Troops who are on a Furlough—your Committee are of Opinion that it will be best provided for by the following Proclamation which they subjoin for the Consideration of Congress—to witt

Then follows a draft of a proclamation of thanks to the army. This proclamation had been submitted to Washington and contained the suggestions which he had made in letter to Mr. Huntington:

ROCKY HILL 25th Septr. 1783.

Sir: —

I have perused the report & Proclamation which you were pleased to put into my hand for consideration; and think an alteration in the first, and, a consequent one in the other indispensibly necessary; — Because, as the report now stands, it is not broad enough to comprehend the several cases which exist; — for the Troops of the Southern Army were furloughed by General Greene, whilst those, which lay in a manner between the two armies, were under the more immediate direction of the Secretary at War, & acted upon by him.—

It appears to me proper therefore to strike out the latter part of the report & after the words "during the War" in the third line, to insert — "and who by resolution of Congress of the ——— & of ——— were entitled to Furloughs or absolutely discharged from the said Service, from and after the ——— day of ——— next"

The Proclamation conforming thereto, — Congress may, if they conceive there is propriety in it, (after the necessary recitals are made) offer their thanks to the Army, *generally*, for its long & faithful Services; and then add — that the further Services in the field of the Officers who have been deranged, & returned on furloughs in consequence of the aforesaid resolutions, can now be dispensed with — That they have the permission of Congress to retire from Service — and that they are no longer liable from their present Engagements to be called into Command again.—

I can see no greater inconvenience resulting from this measure than is to be found in many other instances arising from not making the Peace Establishment a primary, instead of a subsequent Act to them, for had this taken place in time, a *system* might have been formed, & every thing relative to that system made to accord with it — whereas the longer it is delayed the more incongruous probably it will be, as we are by this means forming the extremities, before we have moulded the body, consequently the body must be made to conform and grow to the limbs, not the limbs to the Body which may be found as difficult in the Political as Natural formation of things,

and like thereunto the attempt will more than probably produce a Monster.

A Proclamation couched in some such terms as is here suggested would I think, reduce all the General as well as other Officers, except those who were retained with the three years men, and such as are immediately employed in the Staff, wh^{ch} I think consists of only Baron de Steuben & G: Duportail, and would moreover I think, leave out all the Engineers for the future decision of Congress.

I have the hon^{r} to be, Sir &c^{a}

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

The Honble Saml Huntington,
Chairman of a Com^{ee} of Congress.[1]

The report was on the 30th recommitted, together with one on the subject of the provisional articles of peace, and on the 3d of October the committee reported again[2]

That not having been able to discover the Sense of Congress Whether a proclam^{n} ought to be prepared for enjoyning the Observation of all the Articles of the provisional Treaty for restoring Peace; or a Proclamation for the special Purpose enjoyning the Observation of the Sixth Article only; they have submitted a draft of a proclamation suitable to each Case for the Consideration of Congress.

The Report on the Commander in Chief's Letter they beg leave to return without Amendment.

On October 18th, accordingly, the proclamation thanking and discharging the Army was agreed to by Congress and at once published by the President.

That day also a proclamation, drawn by Messrs. Duane, S. Huntington, and Holten, appointing Thursday, December 11th, a day of public thanksgiving, was agreed to by Congress and issued by President Boudinot.[3] On

[1] Letters of Washington, A, Vol. 7. Original autograph draft.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 271.

[3] *Ibid.*, 24, p. 473.

October 20th Messrs. Duane, Ellery and S. Huntington reported on a motion to transmit to the States copies of the preliminary articles of peace. This was considered on the 22d, and a letter of transmission to be sent to the State Executives was submitted by the committee.[1]

In Congress, Princeton 1783.

Sir: —

Firmly persuaded that the Honour and Prosperity of the United States must depend on a faithful Performance of every national engagement and eminently so of Treaties with foreign Powers, Congress would consider with deep Regret any Act which might render it impracticable to give a just Efficiency to the provisional articles for the Restoration of Peace which are expressly stipulated to be inserted in the definitive Treaty; They have therefore directed Exemplifications of those provisional articles, and their own Ratification thereof to be transmitted to the repective States.

Your Excellency's most obed[t]
humble Servant,

During September and October great strides had been made toward winding up the affairs of the army. Besides issuing the October proclamation of discharge and thanks, Congress contrived to square up numerous civilian war claims on a money basis giving Robert Morris many a a cause to "shudder"; and by means of brevet commissions it had also endeavored to satisfy the wishes of deserving officers.

On August 28th Captain Winthrop Sergeant was promoted to a majority by brevet. He had been a captain in the Massachusetts Artillery since its organization in December, 1776, and had been assured that promotion would take place in favor of the senior captain whenever a vacancy occurred. The method of promotion had been changed just as he became senior captain and he found

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 29, pp. 331, 333.

his inferiors promoted over his head. Since 1779 he had served General Howe as an aide, and he now applied for an advance. The committee to whom had been referred his letter of August 10th to President Boudinot with General Howe's supporting communication, favored his claim,[1] with the result as noted.

On September 11th a brevet commission of major was likewise issued to Captain North,[2] Baron Steuben's aide. Major Murnan[3] on the 15th was brevetted a Lieutenant Colonel, and on the same day three American seamen who lost their limbs on the "Bonhomme Richard" in September 1779 received a pension of forty dollars per annum. On the 25th, Stephen Moore, after laying siege for eight weeks to Congressional attention, had to be satisfied with an order to the Superintendent of Finance referring his claim for timber and hay used and land occupied at West Point by American troops to three arbitrators whose valuation was to be accepted by both parties and the customary mode of settlement then to be followed by the Superintendent. On the 30th was passed the resolution emanating from a report of McHenry, Peters, and Bland, made on September 18th[4] promoting every officer under

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 21, p. 321.

[2] William North, of Massachusetts, enlisted in May, 1776, as a second lieutenant in Knox's regiment of Continental Artillery. A year later he was captain in Lee's Additional Continental Regiment, being transferred in April, 1779, to Spencer's Regiment which later became the 16th Massachusetts. He was Steuben's aide from May, 1779, to November, 1783. He was transferred in January, 1781, to the 9th Massachusetts and in January, 1783, to the 4th Massachusetts. Remaining in the army he was promoted Major and Inspector in April, 1784, serving four years. In July, 1798, he was made Brigadier General and Adjutant General, U. S. A., and on June 15th, 1800, was honorably discharged. He died January 4th, 1836. (Heitman.)

[3] John Barnard de Murnan came from France and in January 1779 was appointed major in the Engineer Corps. He resigned from the army in February 1784 and received a testimonial from Congress to his great services and fine abilities. (Heitman.)

[4] Pap. Cont. Cong., 27, p. 241.

the major general rank, who was still holding the rank he held in 1777, one grade higher and to lieutenant colonels of that date were granted colonelcy commissions. Two of Pulaski's captains, Second and de Pontière [1] were promoted to the rank of Majors by brevet and lieutenant Beaulieu [2] also of Pulaski's Legion, received a captaincy by brevet, while to Captain Haskell,[3] General Howe's aide, was issued a brevet commission of major. Lieutenant Edward Phelan [4] likewise received a commission of captain.

October 1st it was ordered that the accounts of John Halsted, who had been a commissary for the army be settled on the principles of a report handed to Congress on his case by Robert Morris.

On the 6th William Langbourne (or Langburn) of the 6th Virginia who had entered the army in 1777 and had served through the war with "disinterestedness and reputation" received a brevet commission of lieutenant colonel. On that date too it was ordered that Washington reward for their faithful service the troopers composing his bodyguard by allowing them to keep their horses and accoutrements when they should finally be discharged.[5]

[1] Louis de Pontière was an aide to Steuben from February, 1778, to April, 1784.

[2] Louis I. de Beaulieu came from France and joined Pulaski in March, 1779. He was taken prisoner at Savannah, October 9th, 1779, and was exchanged. In the following May he was wounded at Charleston. From that time to the close of the war he was on leave.

[3] Elnathon Haskell of Massachusetts served as a second lieutenant in the 10th Continental Infantry from July to December, 1776. On January 1st, 1777, he became 1st Lieutenant and adjutant in the 14th Massachusetts, being promoted to a captaincy in April, 1778, and to brigade major in May. He was Gen. Howe's aide from September, 1782, to November, 3d, 1783. From that date to June 20th, 1784, he served in Jackson's Continental Regiment. (Heitman.)

[4] Lieutenant Phelan became an ensign in Henley's Additional Continental Regiment in July, 1777, and in April, 1779, was transferred to Jackson's regiment which later became the 16th Massachusetts. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in October, 1781. He died January 7th, 1810. (Heitman.)

[5] These men had been prevailed on to remain with Washington when the rest of their regiment had been furloughed. He wrote to Morris on October 3d that

On the 10th the accounts of the French officers in the Engineer Corps, Major General Du Portail,[1] Brigadier General Laumoy, and Colonel Gouvion whose private interests now recalled them to France, were directed to be adjusted by Robert Morris, and such monies as the state of finances would permit were ordered to be advanced to them with interest-bearing certificates for the balances; and the Secretary of War was directed to express to the French Minister the deep sense Congress entertained of their distinguished merit, their zeal, and their ability in the service of the United States. On October

they were indispensable, but that their detention had been longer than was expected; they had spent their three months' pay in clothing which they were using in public service; they had received no recompense for their voluntary service and were growing uneasy; unless something were done for them they would leave him and he suggested that a little pay, say two months, be advanced to them. (Letters of Washington, A, vol. 7.) The above order was the result.

[1] Louis Lebique Du Portail, who with his fellow officers had received leave of absence from the French government, entered the American service as a colonel of Engineers in July, 1777. He was made Major General Chief Engineer in November, 1781. After the declaration of peace he endeavored to get special recognition for his corps of engineers but futile requests to Washington and a fruitless trip to Princeton showed him in October, 1783, that circumstances would not allow Congress to gratify his wish. On the 6th he wrote therefore to President Boudinot that he had concluded that individual settlements would be the best method of closing up the matter. Deeming that the United States would have no further use for his services and those of Laumoy and Gouvion he begged permission to return to France, opportunities for them having risen which might not occur again, and he also asked that their accounts be settled as soon as possible. The resolution of October 10th resulted; but Robert Morris, when Du Portail came on the 13th in person to show him the act, immediately saw visions of all the foreigners in the army thronging to his office armed with similar documents, and promptly told him that the paymaster was already owing more than $250,000 to foreign officers, and with more engagements now on his hand than he could satisfy he was under the painful necessity of refusing to advance funds. This statement Du Portail at once forwarded to Boudinot, suggesting the inadvisability of allowing foreigners who had served America to leave the country without at least some of their due; such a proceeding would stamp America as either destitute of means or lacking in justice. His letter was read on October 30th and referred to Williamson, Osgood, and Ellery, whose report was read January 22d, 1784, ordering the Superintendent of Finance to pay them what he could in order to enable them to get home. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 8, pp. 31, 43.)

16th passage to France for these gallant officers was provided in the packet "Washington" at government expense, which they did not use.

On the 13th the Secretary of War was directed to issue a brevet commission of colonel to Lieutenant Colonel Ternant.[1] The same day the account of Ebenezer Greene was ordered to be settled, and the report of the special committee to whom the application of Count de Kosciusko, with accompanying documents, had been referred, was read and carried. Colonel Kosciusko in September had solicited Washington's interest in the promotion to a brigadier generalship which he desired. Washington kindly enough forwarded the letter to President Boudinot and recommended special promotion to the desired rank. Kosciusko feared that his name would fall into oblivion if he were made to share in the general promotions. But the resolution of September 30th already covered his case, hence the committee could do nothing further for him, deeply impressed though they were with his merit, than to recommend that the Secretary of War transmit the brevet commission of brigadier general to him and signify at the same time the appreciation of Congress for his "long, faithful and meritorious service."[2]

On October 13th, too, Captain Nathan Goodale, of the Fifth Massachusetts, who had just been promoted to the rank of major by brevet, received a major's commission in the line of the army, in recognition of his extraordinary services.[3] Four days later the Paymaster was

[1] Jean Baptiste Ternant, a Frenchman, had joined the Continental Army in September, 1778, as lieutenant colonel and inspector, serving in Pulaski's Legion He had been taken prisoner at Charleston in May, 1780. Three years later Lincoln recommended him for promotion, and the committee appointed brought in a resolution to that effect on September 30th, which was lost. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 149, Vol. 2, p. 531.)

[2] Letters of Washington, 64 folio 213; Letters of Washington, A, Vol. 7, letter of October 2d; and Pap. Cont. Cong., 19, Vol. 3, p. 401.

[3] Captain Goodale entered the army in 1775 as a lieutenant under General Putnam. In the campaign of 1776 he served in the engineers and several of the

directed to settle with Captain Post's company of Artillery Artificers, and the next day $1,455 were ordered to be paid Major Jackson in compensation for his services as Secretary to Mr. Laurens at the Court of Versailles; and to Major General Greene in recognition of his brilliant conduct of the Southern campaign were presented the two guns captured from the British at the Cowpens, Augusta or Eutaw, and he received leave of absence to visit his family in Rhode Island.[1]

On the twentieth a petition of General Knox asking extra allowance for extraordinary services at West Point was refused on recommendation of Williamson, Osgood and Tilton, the committee to whom it had been referred, a decision which, however, was reconsidered ten days later under fresh influences, when he was granted pay of a major general in a separate department for the period of his command at West Point.[2]

works erected around New York were due to his skill and knowledge. In November, 1776, he returned to service under Putnam as a captain, but his opportunity to distinguish himself signally did not come until August, 1777, when General Gates called for volunteers to get information about Burgoyne's position after Ticonderoga. Goodale undertook the perilous task accompanied by a sergeant and six privates, and succeeded after encountering all manner of hardships. Gates kept him at scouting work, and he became so accomplished a woodsman that before the British army finally surrendered, Goodale took no less than 121 prisoners himself. General Putnam interested himself in him and in June, 1783, wrote to Washington urging special reward. The Commander in Chief passed the letter to Jackson, who in turn handed the correspondence to President Boudinot. McHenry, Peters and Bland, Boudinot's committee, in July consulted Major General Lincoln, who approved of Goodale's memorial and hoped he would be rewarded with some material promotion. The committee reported on October 4th, and on the 13th the action above noted was taken. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 149, Vol. 3, pp. 213, 221, 225, 229.)

[1] Ellery, Madison and Duane had delivered a report to this effect on the 14th. (Pap. Cont. Cong., Vol. 2, p. 505.) General Greene was at some loss to know how to get the cannon voted to him; he was not even quite sure where they were. (Letters to Washington, 64, folio 334, November 3d, 1783.)

[2] Knox's case is easily traceable in the Papers of the Continental Congress. No. 19, Volume 3, page 393, is his claim dated June 2d, 1783; 19, Vol. 3, 389, is Washington's letter of June 6th to Lincoln favoring the claim. June 11th General

On the thirtieth, also, the long-standing claim of Colonel Richard Varick, Washington's secretary, was allowed,[1] and the State of New York was recommended to settle and pay him arrears and charge the sum to the United States. Colonel Varick had found it a simpler matter to get money for his copyists than for himself, because in their case he was free to adopt an easier course. On August 18th he had written to Washington[2] that his copyists needed money; six months had elapsed since they had received any pay whatever; $900 was due them, and not less than that sum would pay for their

Lincoln wrote to President Boudinot (19, Vol. 3, p. 379), enclosing Knox's claim and supporting it. The next day it was referred to Williamson, Bland and Hamilton, who on the 17th reported adversely (19, Vol. 3, 387). There the matter rested until the autumn. September 29th Knox wrote to Washington that his expenses at West Point were exceeding his salary, and asked him to lay the matter before Congress (Letters to Washington 64, fo. 221). October 12th, Lincoln wrote to Boudinot requesting fresh consideration of the case. This letter was referred to Williamson, Osgood and Tilton (19, Vol. 3, p. 387), and they refused October 20th to give him any extra allowance (19, Vol. 3, p. 377). On the 30th the favorable final action was taken.

[1] Richard Varick had entered the army in June, 1775, as a captain in one of the New York regiments, and also received appointment as secretary to General Schuyler, acting thus until September, 1776, when he resigned in compliance with Congressional resolutions, and by General Schuyler's resignation also lost his secretaryship. Later in the month he was appointed deputy muster master general to the Northern Army, acting as chief until 1778. On November 12, 1776, he had been promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, and in the following April was chosen first deputy muster master general under direction of General Joseph Ward, and acted as such until January, 1780, when Congress abolished the office and discharged its members with allowance of one year's pay, this being the gratuity allowed to other deranged officers. From August, 1779, to the time of his discharge he had received none of his pay or subsistence, and on August 20th, 1783, he petitioned Congress to direct the State of New York to settle his account, making good the depreciation that had meanwhile occurred. This had been referred to a committee, L'Hommedieu, McHenry and S. Huntington, on September 8th, whose report of the 15th was not acted on. Varick then pushed the matter by memorializing Congress on the 26th, whereupon a fresh committee, Clark, Bland and McHenry, took it up, reporting on October 1st the resolution which passed on the 30th (Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 23, pp. 199 and 203; and 19, Vol. 6, pp. 113 and 115).

[2] Letters to Washington, 64, folios 42 and 152.

work to the end of August. It does not appear what hidden money-making machinery was put into operation, but on September 10th Robert Morris forwarded the necessary $1,800.[1]

What proved to be the shadow cast by a coming event was encountered on October 24th, when a belated report was made by Huntington, Duane and Madison in regard to a communication received more than a month before from the French Minister. It seems that in the middle of September (18th) M. de la Luzerne had intimated to Congress that he had a communication of interest to offer. President Boudinot delegated Messrs. Duane, Fitzsimmons, Gerry, Samuel Huntington and Ellery to receive it, and they met the French Minister one evening in Nassau Hall according to appointment. Luzerne had received dispatches from Vergennes dated July 21st, stating that it was difficult to know when the Definitive Treaty would be concluded; France and Great Britain were perfectly agreed on every point respecting their treaty; the same was true of Spain, while Holland had not quite settled the details of her treaty. But, with the exception of Great Britain, all the powers, "attached to the true principles by which negotiations of such Importance ought to be regulated," were determined to sign only in concert, and the negotiation was checked by nothing but the delay in the Anglo-American treaty. In regard to it there seemed to be "a state of Languor" occasioned, so Vergennes thought, by the British plenipotentiary. By admitting English vessels to American ports too soon, the United States had made a tactical error and had deprived themselves of a powerful weapon to induce Great Britain to conclude the treaty. Had the former prohibitory laws been adhered to until the final settlement of peace, the United States would have furnished "the most powerful Arm" to the party sin-

cerely desiring a conclusion of peace. Congress might, however, rest assured that the Definitive Treaty would not be signed but in concert, and Vergennes ended by deprecating the suggestion that a third party should be requested to act as mediator between Great Britain and the United States. The American Commissioners would do better by forcing their claims themselves.

A report [1] embodying the above information was delivered on September 19th. It was referred to Messrs. Huntington, Duane and Madison who allowed a month to elapse and then on October 24th brought in their reply:

Resolved that the Minister Plenipotentiary of France be informed that Congress received much Pleasure from his Communication of the Resolution of the Belligerent Parties not to sign a definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, but in Concert with the United States. That it gives them equal satisfaction to learn that his most Christian Majesty had in view the Commerce of the United States; and that it is the earnest wish that such a Spirit of Liberality may pervade Commercial Regulations, on both sides, as will extend the Intercourse and mutual Interest of the two Nations, and preserve and encrease the reciprocal Confidence and affection which have so eminently distinguished their Alliance.[2]

The foreign commerce of the republic received no little attention from Congress toward the end of the session. The subject had been brought into prominence by the alarmist tone of the dispatches sent over by Adams, Jay and Franklin during the summer, hinting broadly at foreign disdain of the American government, and plainly asserting the danger to American commerce lurking in the prohibitive commercial policy inaugurated by Great Britain.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, 2, p. 295.
[2] *Ibid.*, 25, Vol. 2, p. 291.

These matters obviously belonged to the province of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but no successor had been appointed to Robert Livingston, who had resigned in June; and the report of Samuel Huntington, Lee and Higginson made on August 26th on a motion of Huntington that a committee be appointed to perform the duties of a Secretary until Livingston's successor should be chosen, does not seem to have been acted on at the time. Mr. Duane had moved that a list of the documents in the Foreign Office be made out and laid before Congress. Both of these propositions were embodied in the report which unluckily fell on the day of Washington's reception by Congress, and foreign affairs were for the time relegated to the background.

Early in September, however, President Boudinot appointed Messrs. Duane, Rutledge, Fitzsimmons, Gerry and Higginson a committee to analyze the foreign dispatches and to report what steps should be taken to counteract the conditions which they revealed. On September 19th Mr. Duane read the analysis in Congress,[1] and a few days later—the Journal says September 26th, while the manuscript itself is dated September 29th—brought in a report[2] from his committee on the proposed remedies. It was resolved, on advice of this report, first, to appoint a committee to prepare an address to the States upon the subject of commerce, naming the conditions in Europe, the evils to be apprehended and the steps to be taken by the United States. Messrs. Duane, Fitzsimmons and Lee were appointed. Secondly, it was resolved to appoint a committee to consider the domestic invigoration of the Union and the elevation of its political and commercial status abroad. Messrs. Duane, Fitzsimmons and Lee were also appointed to be this committee.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, 24, p. 95. See Secret Journals of Congress, Vol. 3 (Bost., 1821), p. 398.

James McHenry, seconded by Daniel Carroll, here submitted a resolution[1] which aimed to assist Congressional discussion of these important topics, and of which the preamble summed up very tersely the situation confronting the United States — a situation created by its new relations with European powers as a result of peace, and also by its domestic concerns as a self-governing people.

The various sources of trade that were now open to the United States, the restrictive commercial system being introduced by Great Britain, the necessity of securing immediately all possible foreign advantages and of administering funds for the punctual discharge of financial obligations, the preservation and securing of domestic harmony, with provision against external attack whether by Indians or by other possible enemies — all of these matters specially requiring the collective deliberation of the States, Dr. McHenry moved that they be earnestly recommended to forward representatives as soon as possible that so the wisdom of each State might be exercised where the interest of each was so deeply concerned. Serious consideration could thus be given to the contents of the recent dispatches from Europe — he cited their most salient points — and to recommendations in the April Address to the States which had not yet been carried out, and some general system might be devised whereby the injurious effects of British commercial policy might best be counteracted, and the stability of American commerce assured. He offered the resolution in order that, if Great Britain should be successful in carrying out her plans, or if the United States should fail to grasp foreign advantages through lack of sufficient representation to discuss them, or should lose national character through neglect of financial obligations, or should fail to make arrangements essential to national security and internal harmony,

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 24, p. 77.

Congress at least would not be to blame. This motion was assigned for consideration, but before it came up attendance was improved by the imminence of the residence debate. And when that debate was over Mr. Duane had a report to make from the committee appointed by the second resolution of September 26th. Nothing was done about the proposed Address to the States until the next year.[1] But on October 22d Mr. Duane reported a series of instructions[2] to the American Ministers in Europe, which passed Congress on the twenty-ninth. The Ministers were to announce to his majesty the "Emperor" of Germany the high sense Congress entertained of his exalted character and eminent virtues, and to signify the desire of the United States that a treaty of amity and commerce might be entered into between the two nations. In the second place the Ministers were to meet all advances and encourage every disposition shown by European powers to form treaties, laying it down, however, as a fundamental principle that the basis of all such treaties should be one of perfect reciprocity, and no first treaty should be of more than fifteen years' duration. The third instruction was to put a stop to all loans in whatever part of Europe, and was not agreed to, being recommitted for further consideration. Fourthly, the American Ministers were to press upon his Danish Majesty the necessity of giving complete satisfaction for the prizes captured by Captain Paul Jones and taken to the port of Bergen, the value of said prizes being £50,000. His Majesty was at the same time to be assured of the sincerity of the desire of the United States to cultivate the friendship of Denmark, and to further commercial intercourse with that country. The Ministers were next instructed to find out

[1] See Pap. Cont. Cong., 24, p. 99, for the draft of the address timidly drawn up by Gerry, Read, Williamson, Chase and Jefferson in April, 1784.

[2] *Ibid.*, 25, Vol. 2, p. 309. Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 717.

why the expedition of the "Alliance" and the Bonhomme Richard" was carried out at the expense and on the account of the Court of France, and also whether any of the prizes taken, due to American officers and seamen, were still in Europe and whether any part of the profit accruing from the prizes had been placed to the credit of the United States. By the sixth instruction the ministers were directed to see to it that the United States was not further implicated in the affairs of the Armed Neutrality. Although Congress approved of the principles of that convention, since it was founded on the liberal basis of maintenance of the rights of neutrals and of the privileges of commerce, yet it was unwilling to become a party to any confederacy which might hereafter too far complicate the interest of the United States with the politics of Europe. If, therefore, affairs had not gone too far to make the step possible, no further measures were to be taken toward admitting the United States into the confederacy. Seventhly, the American peace commissioners were urged to forward the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty as quickly as possible, even if they were compelled to accept the Provisional Articles as the basis of the permanent treaty. The eighth and ninth heads were special permission to Jay to recall Carmichael to Paris, if the latter's absence from Madrid would not injure American interests; Carmichael was to settle his accounts with Jay, and the latter was given permission to go to Bath for his health if he found it necessary.

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTCH MINISTER ARRIVES

For several weeks past the members of Congress had been looking for the arrival of a Minister Plenipotentiary from the Netherlands, and the public prints had fostered the general interest in his coming. The accredited Minister, Peter John Van Berckel, burgomaster of the city of Rotterdam and a leader in the Assembly, had asked Dumas to write over to Philadelphia and engage for him a house and buy horses and a carriage, as he himself knew no one in America. Dumas had turned the matter over to Livingston, to whom Van Berckel wrote on March 26th, soliciting his aid in the selection of a house and the purchase of six horses and a carosse.[1] Livingston, however, was about to resign, and on June 2d wrote to Boudinot that owing to the brevity of his stay in town he would be unable to attend to the commission, and he asked for directions.[2]

Toward the end of the summer, as the time for Van Berckel's expected arrival drew near, rumors began to float that other foreign representatives also were on their way. At Philadelphia the economic effect of these rumors was marked. The Philadelphia correspondent of the Boston *Evening Post* writes in the issue of August 16th:

Houses are fitting up in this city for the reception of foreign Ambassadors who are expected to arrive one from Spain, one from Denmark, and one from Sweden; and it is talked, that one will be sent from Vienna, and one from Berlin, but those are not fully determined; however,

[1] See his letter in Pap. Cont. Cong., 99, p. 21

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 79, Vol. 3, p. 243.

people begin to flock hither from all parts, and rents rise amazingly.

On the 9th of September the packet ship "General Washington" anchored at Philadelphia, and a wave of excitement was caused when "Baron de Beelen of Bertholff with his suite from the Imperial Court of Germany" disembarked, though, as the *Virginia Gazette* remarked, whether he came as "Minister, Consul, or resident" would be better known when his credentials were presented. A London letter dated June 20th, printed in the same issue of the paper, announced that Van Berckel was expected to sail from Europe in the end of June, and was to come "with his suite in a new 60 gun ship, and is to be attended by four frigates, on board of which are going a great number of the Dutch gentry, and two very opulent merchants of Amsterdam, who intend to fix established houses, in Philadelphia and New York, and to put considerable sums of money into the new public Pennsylvania bank."[1]

According to a dispatch from Utrecht, dated May 2d and published in the *Virginia Gazette* July 12th, Van Berckel was to sail in the "Hercula," commanded by Capt. De Melvil, and accompanying his war vessel were the "Centaur" of 44 guns, "La Ceres" of 40 and two other frigates. The *Salem Gazette* of August 21st stated that on the 4th of June Van Berckel had taken leave of their High Mightinesses and of the Lords of the States of Holland and West Friesland; the addresses of farewell delivered by him on these occasions were published by the *Virginia Gazette* on October 4th, and faithfully copied by its Salem contemporary in its issue of October 23d. On the 8th the *Pennsylvania Gazette* informed its readers that a vessel had just come in from Amsterdam after a voyage of thirteen weeks, having left

[1] *Virginia Gazette*, September 27th.

Europe in company with the vessel which bore Van Berckel, and it was believed having on board a part of his excellency's baggage. This was probably the source of the rumor at Princeton on October 9th that the Dutch Minister had arrived in this country.[1]

At last, on October 11th, the *Independent Gazetteer* announced that the "Hercula" had arrived in the river after a long passage, and was momently expected in the city. The voyage had been "tedious and tempestuous."[2] Fifteen weeks and three days was Van Berckel's record of its duration.[3] In a storm off Nantucket one of his convoys had gone down and over three hundred men were drowned. Late that afternoon, October 11th, his excellency landed at the Philadelphia wharf and the bells of Christ Church rang out peals of welcome.[4] One of the best houses in the most fashionable part of the city was to have been provided for him,[5] but there was a hitch in the negotiation and the first foreign Minister accredited to the United States after its independence was admitted, was compelled to put up at the City Tavern on Second Street near Walnut.[6] While there was no public house in Philadelphia which enjoyed a better reputation in the country than the City Tavern, and while it probably compared favorably with the best hotels of Amsterdam, yet the Dutch Minister felt the neglect keenly; and the fact that the horses he had ordered had been obtained ameliorated but little the state of his feelings. Boudinot remarked to General Philemon Dickinson that Van Berckel was "rather disgusted with his reception at his

[1] L'Hommedieu to Clinton, October 9th. Clinton MSS. No. 5214.

[2] *Independent Gazetteer*, October 18th.

[3] Lenox Library, Letters of Van Berckel; October 12th to the States General.

[4] *Independent Gazetteer*, October 18th.

[5] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 575; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 23, Madison to Randolph, September 30th.

[6] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 15th; *Virginia Gazette*, October 25th.

first landing."[1] Madison grumbled to Randolph that six horses were a regrettable extravagance — "wherever commerce prevails there will be an inequality of wealth, and wherever the latter goes a simplicity of manners must decline."[2]

Van Berckel gave himself a week in which to test his horses and to recover from his voyage and his surprise at not finding Congress in Philadelphia. Robert Morris entertained him at dinner on October 13th[3] and Richard Phillips, Mr. Boudinot's steward, received orders to give him the late presidential mansion and to do anything in his power to make him comfortable.[4] But the steward made the mistake of allowing his own ideas of diplomatic courtesy to precipitate a mild international complication. When he saw the days passing inertly, he intimated to the Dutch Minister that his failure to announce officially his presence as a foreign representative was lacking in dignity and productive of comment. This from a lackey Van Berckel resented; and, falling readily into what was almost a public custom when trouble was brewing, he consulted Robert Morris. The latter at once communicated with Mr. Boudinot, who on October 23d expressed to Morris his mortification at Phillips' indiscretion, begging him to assure Van Berckel that "it must have arose either from the ignorance or insolence of a weak old Man," for he believed that Phillips "had never heard the Idea even suggested from any Person whatever." No word had yet been received from Van Berckel. For some unknown reason a letter which he wrote on the 19th, formally announcing his arrival in America, enclosing a

[1] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 403.

[2] Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 575; Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 23, Madison to Randolph, September 30th.

[3] Morris' Diary.

[4] Pap. Cont. Cong., 15, p. 252; Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 400; Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 713.

copy of his credentials and praying the honor of an audience with Congress did not reach Princeton until the evening of the 24th. Mr. Boudinot at once dispatched his Secretary, Charles Sterrett, with a letter assuring Van Berckel of his joy at the news of the Minister's safe arrival, and also of the pleasure he would have in rendering his residence in America as "agreeable as this Infant Country will admit." He told him that he would announce to Congress the next day the fact of his arrival and would transmit without delay the decision as to an audience.

The Trustees of the College of New Jersey had not needed the cumbersome machinery of official channels to inform them of the arrival of a Minister from the land of William of Nassau, in honor of whom Nassau Hall was named. The fact that he was in the country was sufficient unto them, and on October 22d — oddly enough the anniversary date of the signing of the college charter — while Congress was listening to the draft of a treaty with Denmark[1] on which, characteristically, no action was taken, the Trustees of the college being met on business connected with the upbuilding of the institution, seized the opportunity to resolve that a congratulatory address be presented to the Minister from Holland on behalf of the corporation. Dr. Witherspoon was requested to prepare it, and it was agreed to in these simple terms:

To His Excellency —— Van Berckel minister plenipotentiary from the States of the United Netherlands, to the United States of America.

May it please your Excellency — The trustees of the college of New Jersey beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your arrival in this country. The name by which the building is distinguished in which our instruction is conducted, will sufficiently inform your Excellency of the attachment we have ever had to the States

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 315.

of the United Netherlands. And the friendship, countenance, & assistance, which we have received from Holland call upon us, in the most particular manner to express our gratitude to your constituents, by wishing you all happiness, comfort, & success in your present important mission.

Signed in the name & by order of the board

JOHN WITHERSPOON *Presdt*[1]

Nassau Hall,
Oct. 22, 1783.

On the morning of the 25th Mr. Boudinot officially announced to his colleagues the arrival of the Dutch Minister, the receipt of his letter of the 19th and his request for an audience. Congress suspended discussion of the Peace Establishment and sent the letter to an inevitable committee, whose report[2] was in very short order presented and agreed to, whereby it was

Resolved That the said honorable P. J. Van Berckel be received as Minister plenipotentiary from their high Mightinesses the states general of the United [provinces of the][3] Netherlands and that agreeably to his request he be admitted to a public Audience in Congress.

That the Congress room in Princeton on Thursday next at Noon be appointed as the time and place for such Audience.

That the superintendent of finance and secretary at War or either of them perform on this occasion the duties assigned to the Secretary for foreign affairs in the ceremonial respecting foreign Ministers and that they inform the supreme executives of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, his excellency the commander in chief, the hon[ble]. the Minister plenipotentiary of [their high Mightinesses the States general of the United provinces][3] France & such

[1] Minutes of the Trustees, Vol. 1, p. 241. The blanks are in the minutes. The document sent is not among the Van Berckel papers at Washington, nor does an acknowledgment seem to have been received by the Trustees.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 299.

[3] Bracketed words struck out. The preamble to the resolution as printed in the Journal is found in Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, pp. 303, 305.

civil and military gentlemen as are in or near to Princetown of the public Audience to be given to the honorable the Minister plenipotentiary of their high Mightinesses the States general of the United [provinces of the][3] Netherlands.

Ordered That the superintendent of finance and secretary at war or either of them take Order for an entertainment to be given at the public expense to the hon^ble^. P. J. Van Berkel Minister plenipotentiary from their High Mightinesses the States general of the United [provinces of the][3] Netherlands to the United States of America, On thursday next the day assigned for the public Audience of the said Minister.

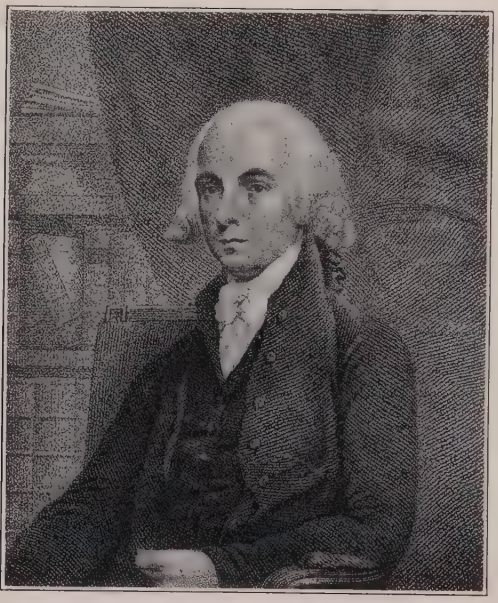
It was further ordered, although the Journal does not show it, that the Superintendent of Finance and the Secretary of War or either of them should see to the provision of suitable apartments for the accommodation of the Minister during his attendance on Congress.[1]

The ceremonial for such occasions was also spread on the Journal.[2] On Sunday, Charles Thomson sent three copies of it to Boudinot,[3] and one of these the President at once forwarded to Van Berckel with the results of Saturday morning's deliberations. In his letter of that day he tells the Minister of the great satisfaction Congress had expressed at the news of his arrival and says that notwithstanding pressing business of national importance Congress immediately took his request into consideration, and in order that he might be received before the close of the session (the first Monday of November), Thursday the 30th had been appointed for the audience. The President also enclosed a copy of the ceremonial to be used on the occasion, and after inviting the Minister and his suite to dinner on Friday, the day after the audience, he closed with this apology:

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 149, Letters of B. Lincoln, Vol. 3, p. 261.

[2] The ceremonial is not published in the *Journal*, but appears in the *Secret Journal*, Vol. 3 (1821), p. 410.

[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 181, Memorandum book 1783 (unpaged).



JAMES MADISON

[From the engraving by Leney]

We feel ourselves greatly mortified, that our present circumstances in a small Country village, prevent us giving you a reception more agreeable to our wishes — But I hope these unavoidable deficiencies will be compensated by the sincerity of our Joy on this occasion."[1]

And Madison, whose ill humor was well-nigh chronic by this time — he had that summer been crossed in love — felt constrained to comment on the "charming situation in which Congress found itself" for receiving a foreign Minister, — in an obscure village, undetermined where the winter would be spent and without even a Secretary for Foreign Affairs.[2]

It was indeed a sore trial to Congressional dignity, but President Boudinot determined to make the reception and audience as imposing as possible. On the twenty-fifth he wrote to Robert Morris and Major General Lincoln informing them of the important duties assigned to them,[3] and Morris deputed Major Jackson to assist Lincoln, suggesting at the same time that he "bespeak wine of Captn. Barney and Mr. Fitzsimmons &c."[4] At the request of Van Berckel to have the audience postponed until Friday or Saturday,[5] President Boudinot named Friday, as Saturday would be the last day of their official existence, and a quorum would certainly be lacking.[6] This change of date was accepted by Congress on the 30th.

Van Berckel called on Morris on October 28th to consult about the journey to Princeton and the ceremony,[7]

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 16, p. 253; Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 715.

[2] Madison to Randolph, October 13th. Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 579. Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 24.

[3] Pap. Cont. Cong., 16, p. 255; Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 401.

[4] Morris' Diary, October 27th, 28th. This presumably was the Thomas Fitzsimmons to whom the President of Congress had paid three days before £22, 10s., for "Clarett."

[5] Pap. Cont. Cong., 99, p. 25; Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 716.

[6] *Ibid.*, 16, p. 256; Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 716.

[7] Morris' Diary, October 28th.

and gave him a copy of the address which he intended to deliver in Congress and which Morris at once sent to Boudinot.[1] On the 29th an express was hurried to Colonel Frelinghuysen with a copy of Van Berckel's Dutch credentials and a request from Congress that he "read them over in that language in public at the audience, before a translation is read."[2]

To Major General Philemon Dickinson, President Boudinot wrote the same day telling him that the Dutch Minister was "to pass through Trenton tomorrow noon . . . Could you not get the Troop of Horse in your Neighborhood to turn out & escort him from the Ferry thro' the Town — It would give reputation to the character of our State abroad and it would be increasing . . . of the business if the Gent[n] of Trenton were to wait on him as he passed thro. the Town. I thought it my duty as a Citizen of Jersey to give you these few hints which you can improve on as you think proper."[3]

On Thursday morning, October 30th, Van Berckel started from Philadelphia in his private coach, followed by his retinue and accompanied by the French Minister, M. de la Luzerne,[4] and by Robert Morris.[5] Late in the afternoon he was met on the road by Washington's troopers, and thus escorted he reached Princeton that evening. On the outskirts of the village he found General Lincoln and a party of other gentlemen waiting to welcome him, and to conduct him to the apartments selected for his use. His letters home say that these apartments were in the house of the "clergyman" at Prince-

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 137, Vol. 3, p. 235.

[2] *Ibid.*, 16, p. 260.

[3] Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 403. Dickinson was major general of the New Jersey Militia.

[4] *Independent Gazetteer*, November 1st, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 5th, etc.

[5] Morris' Diary, October 30th.

ton.[1] As Dr. Witherspoon was pastor of the only church at Princeton at this time and Vice President Smith of the college was occupying the President's house on the campus, we must conclude that Van Berckel was lodged at "Tusculum," Dr. Witherspoon's private residence. That night he went to call on President Boudinot, and the details of the next morning's ceremony were finally rehearsed.

The day had been a busy one at Princeton. Besides the action on the cases of Richard Varick and Generals Knox and Bailey already mentioned, that of George Bond, deputy secretary of Congress had been considered and the Superintendent of Finance had been directed to pay him the sum of $500.[2] Amends were also made for the additional labor that fell to the lot of Robert Patton, messenger of Congress during its Princeton session, by granting him ten dollars per month extra pay from June 21st to the date of the adjournment.

Lest the new Congress which would assemble on the first Monday of November should not be able to muster a quorum and elect a president during the few remaining

[1] Lenox Library, Bancroft MSS.

[2] George Bond had been appointed in November, 1779, but his salary of $1000 a year had been inadequate from the start. He had possessed private means, but had now expended every shilling, and embarrassed by debt he found it almost impossible to support his wife and two children. In May, 1782, he had applied for an increase of salary, and in November the committee on his application had reported it inexpedient to raise salaries. In November and December he had applied again, but nothing had been done. In October, 1783, he wrote to Boudinot in reference to the great additional expense incurred by him through the removal of Congress to Princeton; he intended to resign and locate in New York, and hoped Congress might speedily consider his claim. Charles Thomson, his chief, testified to his faithful and discreet service and told the committee that the United States could ill afford to let such a man leave government employ poorer than when he entered it. The committee, Beresford, Williamson and Mercer, reported favorably on October 22d, but Bond had to spend another week of uncertainty before he saw the report taken up. On October 30th the grant above mentioned was made. (Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 4, pp. 357, 361, 409, 413, 417, and *Ibid.*, 19, Vol. 1, p. 397.)

days of its stay at Princeton, it was ordered that if no president were elected by November 12th, the appointed date of removal from Princeton, the secretary should adjourn Congress to meet at Annapolis on the twenty-sixth as agreed. The request of the Pennsylvania delegates for a sense of Congress on the proposed conference between that State and the Indians was taken up and settled, with the result already recorded in these pages. It was ordered furthermore that the President send to the executives of the States copies of the acts of Congress respecting the proposed residences on the Delaware and the Potomac, and also of the resolution on adjournment. A report of Duane, Gerry and Lee on a report of Livingston regarding an agent or consul at the Island of Madeira was to have been considered, but at present there was no time for it.

And up at his quarters on Rocky Hill, in the "Blue Room" overlooking the Millstone valley all aglow in its autumn foliage, Washington that Thursday was putting his signature to his Farewell Orders to the American Army. In the evening a horseman left "Rockingham" bearing the document addressed to General Knox. The letter which accompanied the Orders told Knox that they were not to be issued until November 2d, and that Washington himself would attend to their publication in the Philadelphia papers.[1]

[1] Letters of Washington, B, Vol. 16, pt. 2, No. 293. The "Blue Room" was then, as it is now, the chief apartment at "Rockingham." On the second floor of the house and opening onto the long covered balcony facing the valley, it was used by Washington as his reception room and office. The house has passed through many hands during the last 124 years, and more than once came almost to ruin before it was rescued in 1896 by the patriotic generosity of the late Mrs. J. Thompson Swann, of Princeton. When she bought the property it was the dilapidated tenement home of between forty and fifty Italian quarrymen and their families. But even then, amid all the squalor and filth, the "Blue Room" was kept unused and immaculate. Its bare floors and plain walls, and the blue dado that gives it its name, were spotless, while in one corner stood a rude table on which

October 31st dawned fair as behooved the importance of the day. But business in Congress began tamely enough, although there was much to be done before twelve. George Bond resigned his position as deputy secretary of Congress since the condition of his private affairs did not allow him to continue in public service. Nathan Jones, a clerk in the war office, also resigned for the same reason. Then the committee on the memorial of Henry Remsen, Jr., and Benjamin Bankson, clerks in the secretary's office, which had been read on October 1st, rather reluctantly advised granting them $200 each for their extra services and expenses.[1] These domestic matters cleared the way for the consideration of the consulship at Madeira.

The report[2] of Duane, Gerry and Lee was taken up and the resolution in accordance with the report was adopted. It is of interest as it gives an insight into our commercial affairs after the war, in at least one corner of the globe:

That altho' no Commercial Treaty hath yet taken place between the Queen of Portugal and the United States, your Committee are well informed that, in Consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of that Queen in 1776 for

day and night a taper burned, a touching mark of Italian deference to tradition and a revered name. "Rockingham" has been carefully restored and is now a depository of Revolutionary relics, particularly Washingtoniana, and is owned by the Washington Headquarters Association of Rocky Hill.

[1] The memorial had been written and presented on October 1st, and had been referred to Clarke, Holten and Hawkins. It represented that the removal of Congress to Princeton had "by enhancing the Articles of Consumption" so increased the cost of living that the petitioners, in their financial straits were compelled to apply to Congress for relief. They had never been reimbursed for the expenses incurred during the three days while the papers of Congress were being transported from Philadelphia, although the clerks of the War and Pay Offices had been granted sums to defray their travelling expenses. They hesitated to name the amount which they thought would be fair, but they thought 200 dollars each would "relieve them of their necessities." (Pap. Cont. Cong., 41, Vol. 8, p. 335.)

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 319.

restraining the Commerce of the United States with her dominions — the Ships and Vessels of these States are permitted & do actually trade at the Island of Madeira as was usual before the War.

That your Committee are further informed that according to the Arrangements established in the Island of Madeira for regulating Trade no Vessel can be cleared out without passing thro' the Office of the Agent or Consul of the Nation to which she belongs. That the Clearance of the first American Vessell which arrived at the said Island after the Repeal of the said Edict meeting with Obstructions for want of a Consul or Agent on behalf of these States the Governor thought fit to send for M Pintard a Native of the State of New York residing on that Island and gave him a Commission to Act in the Character of Agent for the United States and then directed the said Vessell to pass thro' his Office.

That your Committee are further informed that the British Factory in the said Island regulates the prices of Wine in which is included a national Duty of four hundred and sixty Reis per Pipe which every person who Ships in British Bottoms is obliged to pay to the Consul of that Nation, which Duty is applied to the Relief and Support of distressed British subjects the Governor being allowed annually a certain Sum from that Fund: That under this pretext every Merch^{t} who ships in American Bottoms charges the same Duty and puts the money in his own pocket—

Upon this State of Facts your Committee are of Opinion that tho' no Consul ought to be appointed at the said Island for the United States untill the Treaty with the Queen of Portugal now in Contemplation shall be compleated; Yet that it will be of advantage to appoint an Agent especially as it can be done without Expence or Inconvenience And therefore your Committee submit the following Resolution —

Resolved that a Commercial agent be appointed to assist the Merchants & other Citizens of these United States trading to the Island of Madeira: And that John Marsden Pintard be appointed Agent accordingly.

The long delayed ratification of the contract entered

into by Franklin on February 25th with the Court of Versailles for a loan of six millions of livres, was next passed. It had been drawn up in August, as the manuscript report of Madison, Wilson and Higginson on the contract and the letter of Franklin of June 22d shows.[1] Luzerne sent in a communication to enquire about it on September 17th. Ten days later Madison, Duane and S. Huntington, committee on this letter, reported that they had found the form of ratification, and moved that the French Minister be informed of the fact and that it be transmitted without delay of the American Commissioners in France.[2] This report had been adopted on October 2d, but formal ratification did not take place until the 31st.

John Dunlap, who had applied in a letter of October 21st for the honor of being allowed to remain government printer in the place where Congress would reside, was reappointed.[3]

The long-deferred claim of Thomas Paine then came up. Early in June he had requested of President Boudinot permission to lay before Congress an account of his services, and his request was referred to Messrs. Clarke, Peters and Hawkins. He was to have met them on Monday, June 23d, but the mutiny upset all the machinery of government, and Congress left Philadelphia so hastily that Paine was not given an opportunity of stating his case. He mildly sought a hearing, but received no satisfaction until August, when the committee delivered a report (August 15th, read on August 18th) wherein it was stated that "a just and impartial account of our interest for public Fredom and happiness should be handed down to posterity"; that this would best be done by an official historiographer, one too "who has been and is governed

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 323.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[3] *Ibid.*, 78, Vol. 8, p. 39.

by the most disinterested principles of public good, totally uninfluenced by party of every kind"; that Thomas Paine had rendered invaluable services to the United States "without having sought, received or stipulated for any honors, advantages, or emoluments for himself. That a History of the American revolution compiled by Mr Paine is certainly to be desired," and therefore the committee proposed that he be appointed historiographer to the United States at a salary to be decided later. According to James Cheetham this proposition was met with a burst of indignation.[1] It was not however withdrawn, but was allowed to lie on the table. On September 10th, Washington invited Paine to Princeton as his guest. "Your presence," he wrote, "may remind Congress of your past services to this Country, & if it is in my power to impress them command my best exertions with freedom as they will be rendered chearfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your Works." This letter had been delivered to Paine by a son of Colonel Morgan and in reply he had asked that the consideration of his appointment as historiographer might be postponed until he could present certain facts himself; he felt hurt by the neglect of Congress; its silence was akin to condemnation, and its justification must be at the expense of his reputation. On October 2d he had sent to Washington an account of himself for transmission to the committee on his claim, and later in the month followed it to Princeton. On October 31st the proposition of appointing him historiographer was taken up and discussed. But even the weight of Washington's influence was of no avail. The case was referred to a fresh committee, Messrs. Carroll, Gerry and Ellery, and Paine had to suffer another disappointment and exercise further patience.[2]

[1] Cheetham, *Life of Paine*, 1809, p. 94.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 55, pp. 73, 79, 81; 19, Vol. 5, p. 1; Letters of Washington, P, Vol. 3, no. 512; Letters to Washington, 64, folios 193, 223. In M. D.

It was now near noon, and at "Tusculum" Van Berckel was ready when Robert Morris and General Lincoln arrived to notify him that Congress was waiting his presence. In his coach he at once set out for Princeton. Just before he reached the village a horseman came galloping up the highroad from the eastward and drew rein at the college campus. It proved to be Colonel Matthias Ogden of the 1st New Jersey Regiment, who the afternoon before had landed at New York in the ship "Hartford" from England. Learning that the packet carrying the Definitive Treaty, which had sailed on September 20th, had not yet been sighted, he found that he was the bearer of the first authentic news of the Treaty's signing, and he set off express for Princeton, tarrying at Elizabeth that night to send letters, announcing his news, to Washington and to Elias Boudinot.[1] Pushing on he outstripped the postboys, for Mr. Boudinot says that the Colonel himself brought the tidings to Princeton.

The joy that he created may easily be imagined. Van Berckel found himself in the presence of a smiling company when a few moments later he was ushered in by General Lincoln and Mr. Morris, who had met him as he alighted at the steps of Nassau Hall.

In order to accommodate the crowd of visitors the audience was held in the prayer-hall. Besides Washington and M. de la Luzerne there was a large gathering of military men and "many gentlemen of eminence, together

Conway's edition of Paine's Works (Vol. 4, pp. 471–472) is an interesting account of the experiment Washington and Paine made in the Millstone at Rocky Hill of stirring the muddy river bed and setting fire to the gas thus liberated, as it reached the surface of the water, in this manner corroborating what seems to have been a local saying that the river could be set on fire.

[1] *New York Gazette*, November 1st; Letters to Washington, 64, folio 320 and Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 17, p. 361. The treaty did not arrive until after Congress had adjourned from Princeton and Mr. Boudinot's term of office had come to an end. He was no longer a member when it was ratified in the following January.

with a number of ladies of the first character."[1] The doors of the hall, by special order of Congress, were left open during the audience so that those who could not gain admission might at least hear the addresses.

Morris and Lincoln conducted the Dutch Minister to the chair placed in front of the President of Congress. The members were seated by States and uncovered. Elias Boudinot wore his hat, but Van Berckel was bareheaded. On being introduced he read the following address:[2]

Messieurs du Congres!

Avant que je Vous expose la commission dont Messeigneurs les Etats Generaux des Païs-bas Unis m'ont honoré permettez moi que je fasse éclater la joye, que me cause la satisfaction, de me trouver aujourdhui dans cette Assemblée, et d'y rencontrer de ces hommes illustres, que le Siècle présent admire, que la posterité se proposera toujours pour modèle de Patriotisme, et dont l'éternité même ne saura que récompenser les merites.

Pendant que toute l'Europe tenoit les yeux fixés sur Vos exploits, Leurs Hautes Puissances ne pouvoient que S'y interesser très serieusement, se souvenant toujours des dangers et des vicissitudes, que Leurs peres ont dû subir, avant que de pouvoir s'affranchir du joug, ou ils etoient attachés: Elles connoissent mieux que tout autre, la valeur d'une liberté independante, et savoient justement apprécier la grandeur de Vos desseins: Elles applaudissoient aux entreprises genéreuses, inspirées par l'amour de la Patrie entamées avec prudence, et soutenues avec

[1] William Gordon, *History of the . . . United States*, Vol. 3 (N. Y. 1789) p. 374.

[2] The documents relating to the Dutch Minister's audience are found in a volume labelled "Letters of Van Berckel," (Pap. Cont. Cong., 99). Folios 9–11 contain a translation of the Minister's Address in Secretary Thomson's handwriting; folios 29–30, President Boudinot's reply with his autograph corrections; folios 31–33, the Address of the States General to the United States; folios 34–36, the same signed and sealed; folios 37–40, translation of the Address of the States General; folios 41–43, Van Berckel's French address; folios 45–46, President Boudinot's rough draft of his reply.

un courage heroïque: Elles se rejouissent, a la fin, du succes heureux, qui couronne Vos travaux.

Pour vous convaincre de Leur affection, et de la part qu'Elles prennent dans ce qui regarde Votre Republique, mes Maitres m'ont chargé, Messieurs, de Vous feliciter de l'accomplissement de Vos desirs, qui étoient, de faire valoir Votre determination absoluë, et de jouir de ce trésor inestimable & naturel, qui Vous place au rang des Puissances Souveraines & Independantes.

Qu'il est flatteur pour moi, de me trouver aujourdhui l'organe et l'interprète des Sentimens et des dispositions de mes Maitres, et de pouvoir Vous assurer de Leur part, qu'Ils ne souhaitent rien plus ardemment que le bonheur de Votre Republique, et l'affermissement de l'Union de Vos Etats! Puisse cette union, fondée sur les principes du vrai Patriotisme, et de l'amour du bien public, tellement se cimenter, que ni la fausse ambition, ni la jalousie ni l'interêt particulier ne soyent jamais en etat, d'y porter la moindre atteinte! Puisse l'administration d'un gouvernement sage et prudent fixer la prosperité et l'abondance au milieu de ce Peuple, et le combler d'une gloire, qui n'ait d'autres bornes que celles des deux Poles, ni d'autre terme, qui celui des Siécles.

Leurs Hautes Puissances, Messieurs, ne se contentent pas de Vous faire uniquement des complimens de felicitations, qui par euxmêmes ne sont que très steriles: mais convaincues, qu'un Commerce mutuel, et une bienveuillance reciproque sont les moyens les plus sûrs, pour resserrer de plus en plus, ces sacrés liens d'amitié, qui Vous unissent deja, Elles m'ont ordonné, de Vous temoigner, qu'Elles n'ont rien plus à coeur, que de travailler efficacement, a rendre cette Amitié, fertile & fructueuse, et de contribuer tout le possible à l'aggrandisement d'un Allié, dont Elles se promettent les mêmes efforts.

Voilà l'esquisse, mais encore une esquisse bien foible & defectueuse des Sentimens de mes Maitres, dont la Sincerité surpasse l'expression, mais qui pourtant se manifeste dans les Lettres que je viens de Vous remettre de Leur part: Voilà, Messieurs, voilà le but de la Mission, dont Ils m'ont honoré; puisse-je dignement repondre a Leur attente, et gagner au même tems Votre Affection et Votre

confiance, qui me sont si necessaires, pour réussir dans mes enterprises! Quant a moi, sans ruse et sans artifice, j'agirai toujours avec cette droiture, cette candeur, et cordialité qui font le Caractère distinctif d'un vrai Republicain, et qui, par la même, me sont autant de titres et de Sûrs garants, de parvenir a ce point de mon ambition, qui est, de m'acquerir les suffrages du Congres, l'amitié de ceux qui le composent, et l'estime de toute la Nation Americaine.

Then taking his seat he handed his credentials to his secretary, who in turn handed them to Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress. The latter passed them on to Colonel Freylinghusen, whose Dutch ancestry had made him the official interpreter for the day, and he read them in the original. Charles Thomson then read a translation. President Boudinot now rose and taking off his hat read this response:

Sir.

In a Contest for the rights of human Nature, the Citizens of [the united States of][1] America could not but be impressed with the glorious Example of those illustrious Patriots, who triumphing over every Difficulty & Danger, established the Liberties of the united Netherlands on the most honorable & permanent Basis —

Congress at an early Period of the War, sought the Friendship of their high Mightinesses; convinced that the same inviolable Regard for Liberty, and the same Wisdom Justice & Magnanimity, which led their forefathers to Glory, was handed down unimpaired to their Posterity. And [great was our Pleasure][1] our Satisfaction was great in accomplishing with them a Treaty of Amity & Commerce, on terms so acceptable to both Nations. —

[It is Sir with the highest Satisfaction, that][1] With the sincerest Pleasure, Sir, we receive the honorable Testimonials of the Confidence & Esteem of their High Mightinesses, and their affectionate Congratulations on the Success of our Efforts in the sacred Cause of Liberty, [which you have this day presented][1]

[1] Bracketed words struck out.

We assure you Sir, that it is our earnest desire to unite with their High Mightinesses in every Measure, which can promote the most unreserved Confidence and the most friendly intercourse between the two Nations who have [supported][1] vindicated their freedom[1] amidst the most trying Scenes of Danger and Distress, and have been equally blessed by the gracious Interposition of divine Providence with that Sovereignty and Independence so essential to their Safety and Happiness.

Governed by the same ardent Love of Freedom, and same Maxims of Policy, cemented by a liberal System of Commerce and earnestly disposed to advance our mutual Prosperity by a Reciprocity of good Offices; we persuade ourselves that the most friendly and beneficial Connection between the two Republics will be preserved inviolate to the latest Ages.

It adds Sir, greatly to our Pleasure on this interesting Occasion that their High Mightinesses have employed as their minister a Gentleman so highly celebrated for Rectitude and Patriotism, and from whose illustrious Family these united States have received the most distinguished Proofs of Regard and Friendship.

President Boudinot handed the manuscript of this address to Secretary Thomson, by whom it was given to the Minister, and the latter punctiliously rose to receive it. This was the cue for the approach of Robert Morris and General Lincoln, who then conducted the Minister back to his coach, while Congress resumed business with a sigh of relief that no hitch had marred the complete formality of the occasion.

Van Berckel reached his apartments in safety and well pleased; but he had no sooner got indoors when the faithful committee[2] on arrangements appeared again, this

[1] Here Boudinot's own draft ends and the address is completed in another hand.

[2] Robert Morris was in Princeton only a day and a half, but he spent his time well. He notes in his diary of November 2d that besides attending the "public entertainments" in honor of Van Berckel, he visited many members of Congress and General Washington, and had a conference with a committee of Congress on the Dutch loan "which they promised not to meddle with."

time to invite him formally to the state banquet ordered in his honor. This was served either at Christopher Beekman's tavern or at President Boudinot's house. Over fifty covers were laid, and Mr. Boudinot did the honors. In the evening General Washington called at "Tusculum" with a number of officers to pay his respects. The next day the members of Congress called, and President Boudinot gave another dinner of fifty covers, which Washington paralleled on Sunday afternoon by inviting Van Berckel and most of the members of Congress and officers in the neighborhood to dine with him at "Rockingham." Nothing was left undone that could erase any unfavorable first impressions Van Berckel may have received. The close of the session was marked by a round of the liveliest festivities in his honor. He was in Princeton only five days, but the first thing he did on his return to Philadelphia was to write home to his Government for more money, so sadly had his funds been depleted by banquets and wines, which, as he says, the social honor of his country demanded that he provide during his brief stay in the little village of Princeton.[1]

And Mr. Boudinot who was writing to the American Commissioners at Paris, with probably unconscious humor remarked that the Dutch Minister appeared to be "a person very much suited to the manners of the American people."

[1] See Van Berckel's letters in Lenox Library, Bancroft MSS. Holland and America, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF THE SESSION

At the village post office on the night of Friday the 31st occurred the only untoward incident that is to be charged against the community during the stay of Congress in its midst.

At about nine o'clock a mailbag, which was lying on the counter and contained all the mail for the east, together with $3,500 in Morris' notes and $2,800 in Michael Hillegas' notes, besides all of Washington's recent correspondence which he was forwarding to Colonel Varick to be copied, was stolen by a person or persons unknown. While the post rider, James Martin, a man of untarnished record, was in the rear room talking over the events of the day with John Harrison, the postmaster, some one entered the office, blew out the solitary candle that lighted it, and made off with the bag. Harrison and Martin at once went around to the various local resorts where they thought they might find the thief, but in the darkness and rain pursuit was fruitless, and they then reported the robbery to President Boudinot. He decided that nothing could be done that night, but the next day he informed Congress of the affair. In view of the scarcity of money the loss of the notes fell peculiarly hard, and Washington had something to say about the stupidity of the local officials. The Postmaster General was directed, on motion of Mr. Ellery, to inquire into the circumstances of the robbery,[1] while the notes were at once advertised in the papers.

A few days later as Dr. Witherspoon's farmhand, a

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 4, 275.

Scotchman named William McLean who had formerly been a soldier in the British army, was bringing home the doctor's cows, he saw a portmanteau lying in the ditch bordering the meadow. He called a negro, appropriately named Fortune, and together they carried the find up to the house where John Witherspoon, Jr., the Doctor's son, discovered that it was the lost mailbag. McLean, who could neither read nor write, had not even heard of the theft. The bag was returned to the general post office and its contents were found to be intact, with the exception of a few private letters written by Congressmen, which had been opened.[1]

The Postmaster General reported on November 22d, exonerating Martin and Harrison,[2] but the committee on his report, Messrs. Gerry, Howell and McComb, offered a reward of $300 for the detection of the culprit, and recommended that all the documents in the case be referred to the Governor of the State of New Jersey, with instruction to investigate rigidly the conduct of Harrison and Martin.[3] Jonathan Deare and Judge Olden of Princeton were appointed by Governor Livingston to conduct the local investigation; but they elicited no damaging testimony, although they drew £4. 15s. for their services and disbursements. In May of the next year, Governor Livingston reported the complete exoneration of the local postal authorities, and the matter was dropped.[4] In 1791 Harrison became treasurer of the college, and subsequently trustee and treasurer of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton, so that his reputation in the community does not seem to have suffered.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 68, p. 621, *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 61, p. 155.

[3] *Ibid.*, 19, Vol. 3, p. 83.

[4] Letters to Washington, C, Vol. 5, p. 58, and P, Vol. 3, p. 213; *Journal*, November 1st, 1783, and January 6th, April 6th and May 11th, 1784; Pap. Cont. Cong., 36, Vol. 4, p. 343.

On Saturday, November 1st, in spite of President Boudinot's fears to the contrary, a quorum was present and business of interest, if not of great importance, was transacted. Charles Thomson was ordered to provide General Greene with a clerk to copy for permanent record his history of the southern campaign. To Lieutenant Richard Fullerton, who had fought with conspicuous bravery at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton and had served with distinction in various appointments in the southern army, was awarded a brevet commission of captain as a reward for his meritorious conduct; and in answer to the memorial of William Stewart, a lieutenant in Hazen's Second Canadian Regiment, who had been engaged in suppressing trade and intercourse with the enemy, and now found himself far from home and pressed by poverty, the Superintendent of Finance was ordered to advance to him two months' pay.[1] Robert Morris was also directed to inform the Farmers General of France, to whom a balance of 846,770 livres was still owed by the United States, and whose letter of July to Franklin proposing that the principal be paid in tobacco — they waived all interest on the debt[2] — had been forwarded to Congress by Morris on September 15th, and referred then to a committee reporting November 1st, that the United States thanked them for their generosity, and that as soon as the revenue measure of the preceding April should take effect the interest accruing on the balance due to the Farmers General would be punctually remitted, and that if this were not satisfactory, the United States begged them to be assured that all possible endeavors would be made to discharge the principal as soon as the state of public finances would admit.

A long report, delivered on October 29th by Messrs.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 78, Vol. 21, p. 337, and 19, Vol. 5, p. 419.
[2] *Ibid.*, 26, p. 461.

Carroll, Duane and S. Huntington, on the vital question of improving the attendance of members, was now spread on the minutes and it was resolved hereafter to have a call-over of the States every morning at eleven, and to send regularly a copy of the record to the State Executives in order that they might be kept posted on the attendance of their representatives.[1]

Captain John Paul Jones,[2] who had announced his readiness to go to Europe as prize agent for the United States

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 23, p. 145; *Journal*, November 1st. This expedient failed of it purpose, as the history of the first few weeks of the next Congress shows; and in February of the following year Luzerne, writing to Rayneval, adverts to the trouble and gives the excuses which he had heard for non-attendance. In almost Biblical phrase he says: "L'un était obligé d'aller chez lui pour prendre soin de son enfant malade, un autre pour se marier, un troisième avait des affaires personnelles très pressantes. J'en rencontrai un qui m'a dit que sa femme le rappelai." (Bancroft MSS. Arch. Franc., 1783–85, p. 169.)

[2] Jones had written to Morris on October 13th, and to Congress five days later, recalling attention to the interests of the officers and men who had served on the "Bonhomme Richard" under his command four years ago; only 45 of the 170 Americans in the crew had received their wages. Nothing had been done for the others in wages, bounties or prize money, nor had any steps been taken to make good the losses they may have sustained privately when the "Bonhomme Richard" sank. He had applied again and again for consideration; he had "wrote volumes" to Franklin and De Sartine, but he was sent back and forth from one to the other, and never received satisfaction. The balance due was 27,667 livres. In his letter of October 13th to Morris, he had enclosed a copy of the communication he had made to Robert Livingston about the matter on May 10th, 1782, and from which he had achieved no results. He hoped Congress would take the matter up. He also called attention to the fact that Denmark had sent back to England toward the end of 1779 two 22 gun ships, the "Union" of London, and the "Betsey" of Liverpool, both richly laden, which he had sent to the port of Bergen as prizes. Denmark had a right to refuse asylum, but none to return them to England. Now that Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the United States, he hoped Congress would take such effective measures as would obtain acknowledgments to the American flag, and also secure justice to his officers and men. In his letter of October 18th to Congress on the same subject, he had made his offer to go to Europe. To the two vessels mentioned in his letter to Morris he now added a brigantine, which he had omitted to mention before, but which had been forced out of American hands by the Danish government and restored to Great Britain. His letters were referred to Samuel Huntington, Arthur Lee and James Duane, and they reported on October 29th. Their report was not taken up until November 1st. (Pap. Cont. Cong., Vol. 3, pp. 207, 211, 215, 305.)

and enforce the claims of his country, was recommended to Franklin in that capacity, and transportation for him in the ship "Washington" was provided.

Elias Boudinot's last official act was to write a response to a letter of good will and congratulation from the Burgomasters and Senate of the Imperial Free City of Hamburgh, which had been delivered to Congress a few days before Van Berckel's reception by a special envoy, John Abraham de Boor.[1] The letter was committed to the consideration of S. Huntington, Arthur Lee and James Duane. In consonance with their report of October 29th, President Boudinot was ordered to communicate in terms of the most sincere regard the satisfaction given by the letter, and the committee was instructed to confer with de Boor on the subject matter of the missive.[2] President Boudinot's letter read as follows:

PRINCETON 1st Nov. 1783.

Gentlemen:

I have the Honor of acknowledging the Receipt of your very respectful & polite Letter of the 29 March last, by the Hands of your Faithful Citizen & Missionary Mr De Boor — Congress received this very generous & candid Communication with all that Pleasure & attention which so great Proffers of Friendship from the honorable the Burgomasters & Senate of the Imperial Free City Hamburg, justly demanded from the United States of America —

Congress did not delay to take this honorable tender of the affection and Esteem of the worthy Burgomasters & Senate under their immediate Consideration and I am now honored by the Commands of Congress to make

[1] For text see Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 351.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 25, Vol. 2, p. 307, *Ibid.*, 16, p. 266, and Boudinot, Vol. 2, p. 11. President Boudinot's own draft is in the Princeton Collection of the Library of Princeton University, and from this the above is taken. It is endorsed by its author:

"Original by Capt. Barney
Duplicate delivered to Mr. du Boor."

known to the Respectable Representatives of this great & Imperial City, "in Terms expressive of the most sincere Regard, the high satisfaction with which the United States in Congress assembled, received the annunciation of their Friendship & Attachment and their affectionate congratulations on the Establishment of the liberty and Independence of the United States of America. — That having founded the Commercial System of these States on the Basis of Equality & Reciprocity, Congress will cheerfully meet the wishes of the Burgomasters & Senate of Hamburg and unite with them in encouraging the most friendly intercourse, between the Citizens of the Respective Countries on such liberal Principles as will best promote their mutual advantage and prosperity, and that it is the earnest Prayer of the United States in Congress assembled that the Imperial Free City Hamburgh may Continue to encrease in Commerce & Splendor and be blessed with uninterrupted Tranquility — "

It is with the most sensible Pleasure I make this Communication, and hope & pray that a solid foundation will be laid, for the firm establishment of Friendship & Communion between the Citizens of our Republics —

May God Almighty keep the honorable Burgomasters & Senate of the Imperial Free City Hamburg in his holy Protection.

I have the honor to be with Sentiments of high Respect & Esteem

Gent[n] Your most Obed[t] and very Hble Serv[t]

ELIAS BOUDINOT,

President of the United States in Congress assembled.

That afternoon the session came to a formal end with Mr. Holten's motion that the several matters before Congress be referred over and recommended to the attention of the United States in Congress assembled, to meet at Princeton on Monday the 3d instant.

On Monday morning, November 3d, the new Congress met and, seven States being represented, proceeded to the election of a new President. The honor fell on Thomas Mifflin who was not present. Daniel Carroll was chosen

temporary chairman, and then Mr. Duane, seconded by Mr. McHenry, moved the customary resolution of thanks to the outgoing President, in testimony of Congressional approbation of his conduct in the chair. The chairman, on motion of Dr. McHenry, was directed to adjourn Congress on the 6th to meet at Annapolis on the 26th,[1] thus changing the arrangement made in October. But on Tuesday, November 4th, the 6th was altered to read the 4th, and when adjournment took place that afternoon — just after Thomas Jefferson arrived to take his seat — Princeton ceased to be the nation's capital.

[1] Pap. Cont. Cong., 23, p. 153.

CHAPTER XIV

A RETROSPECT

During the tedious wait until Congress assembled at Annapolis, thoughtful men had ample time to consider calmly the events of the past six months — the mutiny and its causes, the flight of Congress from Philadelphia, and the session at Princeton — and having reached conclusions, to predict the future. With that future we need not concern ourselves; but we may at least look back over that summer's history before we leave its chronicle. Much of it was sufficient to cloud the prospect of the States signatory to the "league of friendship," as the Confederation styled itself. During the course of the war, and particularly in the period immediately after its close, the term "friendship" had grown to be largely a misnomer. Scarcely a man in Congress or in official position had failed to encounter the friction existing between the various sections of the country; and in quick succession had also occurred the Mutiny of 1781, the Newburgh episode, and the Mutiny of 1783 — menaces of an army driven in desperation to turn against its own creators.

Of these three incidents the second has received wide attention; it seems as though the part played by Washington had given it a dramatic quality, a picturesqueness lacking in the others. And yet of the trio the mutiny of 1783 alone reached culmination. On no other occasion in the history of the American people has Congress as a body been in such actual physical danger at the hands of its own constituents. That it was a disgraceful episode must be acknowledged, disgraceful alike in its occurrence and in its cause. It is impossible to excuse the men par-

ticipating in it whatever one's feeling of sympathy may be. As Washington pointed out, they were but recruits and soldiers of a day; they had not borne the heat and burden of the war and in reality they could have had but few hardships to complain of when compared with the veterans whom he was furloughing.[1] These facts could not be better stated; but in his anger against the recruits Washington forgot that, had it not been for his own timely presence at Newburgh, a course of procedure not very different in its gravity from that of the Lancaster levies would surely have been pursued only a few weeks earlier by his very veterans themselves. Their wavering loyalty had been restored by the quiet force of his words. Those, however, who attempted by parley to quell the mutiny at Lancaster and Philadelphia were jeered at to their faces and openly threatened; but the soldier — recruit or veteran — who would have dared to jeer at the Commander in Chief to his face did not exist. In other words, had there been a Washington at the Quaker capital it is improbable that the mutineers would ever have reached the doors of the State House; and the members of Congress would not have found themselves, in the couplet of Philip Freneau,

> "Sovereigns besieged by angry men,
> Mere prisoners in the town of Penn."

The pitiful helplessness of a Confederation which could allow its governing body to be placed in the anomalous position which Freneau so aptly hits off could not have been more strikingly revealed.

Congress was not to blame for its inability to pay off its army; the fault lay in the neglect of the States to make payment possible, a neglect far less excusable than the mutiny itself. The truth was, men had become demoralized by the condition of armed truce that succeeded

[1] Washington to Boudinot, June 24th, 1783. Boudinot, Vol. 1, p. 339 and Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 455.

warfare, and when peace at length came they had laid aside patriotism and were too eagerly gathering up the unravelled threads of their former lives to give attention to an army whose usefulness was now gone. Let that be the business of others, they said; as for us we must get together what little we can of the remnant of our private concerns, and settle down to enjoy peace after war; what if taxes are overdue? let them wait until we are again on our feet. In theory the colonies had rebelled against unjust taxation — the very word was odious; and now ere the fruit of victory was fairly in their hands they were being taxed, and that right heavily, by their own representatives in Congress assembled; and they kicked against the pricks. There was no solidarity of interest, no breadth of view, no national spirit; and already there had appeared those sectional antipathies which were to meet fourscore years later in the clash of arms on the battlefields of the Civil War. The republic had scarcely breathed its first breath and it could not realize its new responsibilities; for they were greater than it had dreamed, and had been as it were forced upon it.

As for the "flight of Congress," watchers of the times jotted the story down in their diaries along with their weather observations, and discussed it in their wordy letters to one another. They understood full well its deeper significance; they knew that it meant decadence. The opinion of the American public at large has been hinted at in an earlier chapter; but there was another class of opinion which interested men in public life far more, and for which they waited with no little misgiving — the opinion of Europe. Whether the provocation of the "flight" were sufficient or not was perhaps debatable; but it was plain that the gravity of the episode at this early point in the nation's history, when viewed from the standpoint of international status, could scarcely

be exaggerated. The wisdom of the departure from Philadelphia was at least questionable. It may have been true that the situation of Congress had become almost unbearable — it certainly was not very desirable, as Benjamin Hawkins and Hugh Williamson, representatives from North Carolina, wrote back to their Governor. It may have been true, as these gentlemen declared, that members found themselves sent from home to seek lodging in a city where they had neither control nor jurisdiction, and where they were exposed to the importunities, if not to the insults, of creditors whom they could not pay, and even to the bayonets of a mutinous soldiery whom they could not discharge.[1] Indeed, the prime reasons assigned for the departure may have been valid — namely, to discount the plans of the mutineers and to rouse the State authorities to a sense of their duty at least as the hosts of the nation's representatives; but with peace only two months old and the treaty with Great Britain not yet formally concluded, with all the great national questions and policies practically untouched, the flight of Congress could not help but be the severest blow possible to the prestige of the newborn nation. It was regrettable enough that Congress should have been put to flight by a fraction of the army which had won for the country its liberty; but, that Congress in the capital itself could not compel the lifting of a single hand for its protection, was nothing less than a public confession that it had no power wherewith in time of peace to assert even its slender authority; it was a tacit acknowledgment that the Confederation had outlived its efficiency. This was the impotence that a long-headed minority in Congress had wished to hide from keen eyes and listening ears closely attentive to American affairs,[2] an impotence

[1] State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 16, p. 854.

[2] See Madison to Randolph, July 8th, 1783, Gilpin's Madison, Vol. 1, p. 554, Hunt's Madison, Vol. 2, p. 2; Hamilton to Dickinson, Hamilton, Vol. 1, p. 381.

which naturally enough was the first conclusion drawn by foreign observers from the story of the mutiny. Hamilton had foreseen this conclusion in his conference with the Pennsylvania State Council before the issuance of the proclamation of departure from Philadelphia, and it was to cure this impotence that he drew up at Princeton his set of resolutions calling for a constitutional convention to revise the Articles of Confederation, resolutions which in disgust at the apathy of the majority, or in hopelessness of their passage, he never offered.

It was not long before echoes of the mutiny came from Europe. Vergennes, learning of the affair from Luzerne, remarked that it was "une chose infinement fâcheuse, parcequ'il produit des scènes qui portent atteinte à l'autorité comme à la considération du Corps representant les Treize-Etats."[1]

From the Marquis de Lafayette President Boudinot received a letter in which occurs this paragraph:

"Upon Many Points lately debated, My opinions, if worth a Remark, are well and Generally known, But I must frankly Add that the Effect Some late transactions Have Upon European Minds Cannot but Make me Uneasy — in the difficulties which a Patriotic, and Deserving Army Have Met with, Europeans Have Been Misled to See a Wane of Public Gratitude — in the Opinions that Have from Every Quarter Been Started, Europeans Have, I also Hope, Mistaken Partial Notions for a Wane of disposition to the foederal Union — and without the Union, Sir, the United States Cannot preserve that dignity, that Vigour, that power, which insures the Glory, the Happiness of a Great, Liberal, and independant Nation — Nay, it would become our ill fate, of us who Have Worked, fought, and Bled in this Cause, to see the United States a prey to the Snares of European politics."[2]

Professor Sumner has called attention to the fact that

[1] Bancroft MSS. Archives françaises, 1783–85, p. 87.

[2] Pap. Cont. Cong., 156, p. 360, Nancy, September 7th, 1783.

financial uneasiness consequent upon the mutiny reduced the amount of American bonds sold in Holland during the summer and autumn of 1783 from 195,000 florins in July to 70,000 in August, 25,000 in September, and 10,000 in October.[1]

The American Ministers at Paris, Adams, Franklin, and Jay, declared that

> the situation of the army, the reluctance of the people to pay taxes, and the circumstances under which Congress removed from Philadelphia, have diminished the admiration in which the people of America were held among the nations of Europe, and somewhat abated their ardor for forming connexions with us before our affairs acquire a greater degree of order and consistence.[2]

An American lady in England wrote to her Philadelphia friend that it was laughable to see what pleasure lighted up the countenances of a certain class of persons when they heard the news of "the little riot" in Philadelphia; "they magnified it into the annihilation of Congress and the utter destruction of the Commonwealth."[3] And Henry Laurens found his presence in London most timely in "explaining or attempting to explain" the mutiny. The enemies of the United States were chuckling over the story and exulting in the discomfiture of Congress while the friends of America were fearing the worst. It was believed, he said, that the soldiery "had assumed the reins of government, and that all the States of America were rushing into anarchy."[4] Sir Guy Carleton, who at New York had better opportunities for forming an opinion, wrote to Lord North as late as October 13th of the "distracted State of these provinces." According to his information "men of all parties consider

[1] Sumner, Vol. 2, p. 113.

[2] To Boudinot, September 10th, Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 689.

[3] Letter of September 6th, in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 19th, 1783.

[4] To the American Ministers at Paris, August 9th, Wharton, Vol. 6, p. 640.

another Revolution inevitable, and at no great distance; they all agreed that Such an event is the only remedy that can prevent their ruin; but they differ widely in their Several views and political Schemes." Some of those even, said he, who were fierce republicans were convinced that the present system would have to be changed; but according to him this party was on the decline. Many turned their eyes to Washington and looked on him as the only man able to rescue the country from anarchy and destruction; these men were supposedly under French influence. On the other hand, continued Sir Guy, there were not a few who boldly asserted that a king was indispensable "to the tranquility and good government of a Country so extensive, and so divided by local prejudice and views of so separate interest."[1]

It was not surprising that these should have been the opinions of outsiders and foreign onlookers, hostile or friendly. They were expected, and when through the sluggish channels of communication of that day they at length reached the ears of those in authority in this country, they caused after all but little comment and less resentment. Congressmen perhaps went a little more seriously about their business in Nassau Hall, while the better men among them resolved to see to it that the Republic should live down the odium and cast back in the teeth of her deriders these slighting comments on her weakness. Before that day came, however, five years were to pass.

Half-hearted and dilatory though the Princeton session was, yet the time was not altogether wasted. Whether as much or more would have been accomplished had Congress remained at Philadelphia is an open question. Certain is it that the same amount of work, petty detail though most of it was, would not have been done save

[1] Carleton Papers, 36, America, Vol. 2, p. 257.

with far more friction. Looking back, the members might, if they pleased, congratulate themselves on the discharge of the army with some show of decency on the one side, and a certain amount of satisfaction on the other. The Peace Establishment problem had not been solved, but Washington had been formally thanked for his services as Commander in Chief, the federal residence question apparently had been settled, and a long advance had been made toward the cession of public lands to the United States and the inauguration of amicable relations with the Indians. Important treaties had been ratified, a foreign Minister had been received with due ceremony, and the first halting steps had been taken by the United States toward the occupation of a ranking place among the nations of the world. Saddled with a debt that seemed overwhelming, stripped of practically all commerce, it was only the buoyant heart which independence gave that nerved the finer spirits of the country to face the future resolutely and make of that country what Washington had so eloquently described in his Circular Letter.

It was plain that he had hit the mark when he declared that the first prerequisite to the well-being of the United States was that there should be an indissoluble union under one federal head. But first a union; and in 1783 there was scarcely any. It was a striking fact brought to light by the Congressional committee on representation reporting November 1st, that on no occasion since the Continental Congress had come into existence were all the States represented together. Often they had neglected to elect representatives; representatives when elected had loitered in their coming, and after they had come had frequently absented themselves from their seats. Nor was this condition of affairs chargeable in the summer of 1783 to the fact that Congress had left its city home and gone into village residence. The same fault

was prevalent when Congress was sitting at Philadelphia; and later at Annapolis it was to cause so much delay that the French Minister described it at some length in a dispatch to his government. So obviously important a piece of business as the ratification of the Definitive Treaty was delayed until almost too late by the absence of a quorum to take it from the table. A constitution that could not command a larger respect and a greater unity of interest was proof sufficient of its own inefficiency, and its dissolution or its remodelling formed a dilemma from which there was no escape.

But the time had not yet come; and, as if compelled by a power mightier than itself to humble any latent pride it may have cherished in the marvel of its birth, the nation was to sink lower in its own esteem and drink even more deeply of the cup of self-humiliation. The Mutiny of 1783 was but the beginning of the darkest hour before the dawn — the dawn that should set the Union straight upon its upward path.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

PRESIDENT BOUDINOT'S ACCOUNT WITH THOMAS STOCKTON OF PRINCETON[1]

His Excellency the President of Congress,

To Thomas Stockton Dr.

1783						
June 26.	For 1 Side of Lamb 7/, 1 Gall: Wine 8/				15.	—
" 27.	10½ ℔ Veal a 3½d 3/1 1 qur Lamb 3/6		6	7		
	1 Peck Beans, & 4 quts Pease 2/6.....		2	6		
	17 ℔ Lump Sugar a 1/3.....	1	1	3		
	15 ℔ Butter 1/–.....		15	—	2 5	4
" 28.	½ bush: Beans 3/. 50 Limes 7/6.....		10	—		
	3 Pine-apples 7/6 1qur Lamb 3/9.....		11	3		
	7 ℔ Veal 2/4 6 Score Eggs 6/.....		8	4		
					1 9	7
" 29.	6 Chickens, 4/6 15½ ℔ mutton 6/7....		11	1		
	17 ℔ Veal ac 4/.....		5	8	16	9
" 30.	14¼ ℔ do 4/9 1 qur Lamb 3/6.....		8	3		
	3 quts Pease 1/6. 1 Peck Beans 1/6.....		3			
	1 doz: Cucumbers 3/– 5 qts Pease 2/6		5	6		
	30 turnips.....		2		18	9
July 1.	14½ ℔ mutton 6/. 4 Chickens 3/.....		9	—		
	15 ℔ Veal 5/– 11½ ℔ Fish 4/9.....		9	9		
	7 Gall: Spirits a 7/6 & Keg & 6/6.....	2	19		3 17	9
" 2.	*7 *Ducks 5/10* 1 qur Veal 16 ℔ 5/4....		11	2		
	1 qur Lamb.....		3	6		
" 3.	11½ ℔ Butter 11/6. 8 Bunches Onions 3/.....		14	6		
*	1 Peck Peas 4/– 1 Tongue 2/.....		6	—		
	10 Chickens 10/– 1 Bush: Beats 15/..	1	5	—		
	1 doz: Chickens 9/ 66 ℔ beef a 8d 44/–	2	13	—	4 18	6

[1]Lenox Library, Emmett Collection.

July	4.	33 Chickens 24/9 40 Cucumbers 10/ ...				1	14	9
"	5.	* *20 lb Tallow 30/* 5 lb Fish 2/1				1	12	1
"	7.	6 lb Butter 6/ ½ Peck Pease 1/6.....		7	6			
		* ½ Gallon Vinegar.....		1	6		9	—
"	8.	16½ lb Veal 6/3 1 qu[r] Lamb 3/.....		9	3			
		8 doz : Cucumbers 13/ lb Chickens 7/6	1	0	6	1	9	9
"	9.	16½ lb Veal 6/3 14 lb mutton 5/10.....		12	1			
		18 Chickens 13/6 Beets & Onions 7/6..	1	1	—			
		1 Gall : Wine 8/6 Score Eggs 2/.....		10	6			
		Cash paid Jeremiah Sheldon bringing up 2 Barrels flour.....		9	—	2	12	7
						£23	14	6
		Amount brought over.....				23	14	6
1783.								
July	10.	For 16 lb Veal, 5/4, 12 lb Fish 4/6.....		9	10			
		½ bush : Pease 3/. 2 quts shelled ditto 2/		5				
		2½ lb Butter 2/6 20 Chickens 15/.....		17	6			
		3½ Pecks Beets 8/6 200 Clams 3/.....		11	6	2	3	10
"	11.	Head & pluck of Veal 5/ 9½ lb Veal 3/2		8	2			
		½ Bushel Potatoes.....		6	—		14	2
"	12.	16 lb Butter 16/ 1 Score Eggs 1/2		17	2			
		3 lb Raisins 3/ 1 Peck pease 1/6.....		4	6			
		2 doz: Cucumbers 2/ 1 lb Pepper 4/-..		6	—			
		½ lb Allspice 1/6 1 doz : Squashes 2/..		3	6	1	11	2
"	14.	1 doz : Cucumbers 1/ 5 lb butter 5/....		6	—			
		6½ lb Butter.....		6	6		12	6
"	15.	5 doz : Cucumbers 5/ 2 lb Starch 1/6..		6	6			
		½ lb Indico 4/6 4¾ lb Soap 7/-.....		11	6			
		½ Bush : Potatoes 12/- 16 lb Veal 5/4		17	4			
		1 qua[r] Lamb 3/. 4 Squashes 2/.....		5	—	2	0	4
"	16.	Pease, Beets Cucumbers & Onions.....		9	6			
		32 lb Mutton 12/2 10½ lb Butter 10/6..	1	2	8	1	12	2
"	17.	6 Chickens 3/9 1½ Pecks Pease 4/- ...		7	9			
		2 Score Eggs 2/- 3 Squashes 1/.....		3	—			
		6 lb Sugar 3/9 1 Peck Pease 1/10.....		5	7			
		3½ lb Butter 3/6 1 Score Eggs 1/-		4	6	1	0	10

July 18.	9 lb Fish 4/6 paid Mrs Rutman for Work 7/6			12 —
" 19.	1 Peck Turnips, 1 Peck Potatoes & 6 Cucumbers	5 6		
	6 bush : Corn 45/ 5½ lb Butter 5/6....	2 10 6		2 16 —
			£36	17 6

His Excellency the President of Congress

To Thomas Stockton *Dr*

1783				
July 21.	For 1 Ton Hay	5 — —		
	1 doz : Cucumbers	1 —	5	1 —
22.	4 doz : ditto & 3 Melons	6 —		
	10 lb Veal 3/4 6 Chickens 4/6	7 10		
	1 Peck Beans, 4 Cucumbers & half peck Pease	2 6		16 4
23.	10 Chickens 6/8. Pease & Squashes 2/	8 8		8 8
25.	10 quarts Pease 3/. 2 Doz: Cucumbers 1/			4 —
26.	10 lb Veal 3/4. 8½ lb Butter 8/6	11 10		
	1 Score Eggs	1 —		12 10
27.	12 C. Hay 60/. 1 doz : Squashes 1/6..		3	1 6
28.	1½ doz : Cucumbers 9d 15 lb Mutton 5/7			6 4
30.	10½ lb Bacon 10/6 1½ bush : potatoes 11/3	1 1 9		
	2 doz : Cucumbers	1 —	1	2 9
31.	1 qr Lamb 3/6 1½ bush : potatoes 11/3			14 9
Augt 2.	2 Doz: Cucumbers 1/6 1 doz : Squashes 1/	2 —		
	1½ Ct Flour a 23/- 34/6 Barrel 2/6..	1 17 —		
	1½ lb Butter 1/6 15 lb Mutton 5/7...	7 1	2	6
4.	2 lb Butter 2/. 1½ Gs. Rum 9/- 3¾ Butter 3/9			14 9
	Sundries of Stephen Morford vizt			
	3 lb hard Soap 4/. ½ doz : pipes 1/	5 —		
	4 lb boi : do 5/11 2 lb Starch 1/4	7 3		12 3
	Mending Geers &c by N : Morford			19 3
			£17	0 6

THROUGH THOMAS STOCKTON PRESIDENT BOUDINOT ALSO HAD THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT WITH MAHLON TAYLOR.

1783. June 27	To 17½[lb] Loaf Sugar @ 1/3 2 Gall. Port wine @ 8/6 *2 Juggs* 3/.....		2	1	10½
	29 To *10* Gallons Port Wine @ 8/16. 6[lb] @ 1/–.....		4	11	0
July 3	To 1[lb] Pepper 3/9 1 oz Cinnamon 3/.....			6	9
	5½ Score Eggs @ 1/ 2[lb] Raisins @ 1/–			7	6
*	1 oz Nutmegs 2/– 1 Baskett Salt 1/10½			3	10½
	6 Bottles Mustard @ 18[d].....			9	9
	3 large dishes @ 6/9 1 peck Salt 1/2..		1	1	5
July 15	1[lb] Tea 5/6 Sundry Queen's & Earthenware 8/9.....			14	3
	1 Sweeping Brush 4/6 1 Scrubbing ditto 3/6.....			8	0
	1 Furniture ditto 1/. 1 p[r] Shoe ditto & Black ball 3/6.....			4	6
	50[b] 4 oz Loaf Sugar @ 16.[d].....		3	7	0
27	1 peck Salt 14[d] 6[lb] Sugar @ 7½[d].....			4	11
29	5 Gallons wine @ 8/.....		2	0	0
31	½ G[l] Brandy @ 6/.....			3	0
Aug[t] 1	6[lb] Sugar @ 11[d] 1[d] Sousong Tea 12/			17	6
		£	17	1	7

APPENDIX II

SIGNERS OF THE QUAKER MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS[1]

Isaac Lane Zane (?)
John Reynell
Thoˢ Rose
John Price, Junʳ
Hugh Roberts
Joseph Penrose
Isaac Pickering
William Harvey
Joshua Morris
Daniel Haviland
Joshua Brown
George Evans
Thomas Whitson
Anthony Benezet
James Thornton
Warner Mifflin
Samˡ Emlen, junʳ
Daniel Byrnes
Geo Dillwyn
Jamˢ : Pemberton
Jacob Lindley
Thomã Lightfoot
Mark Reeve
William Savery, Junʳ
John Hoskins
George Churchman
Thomas Milhous
Wm Kersey
David Cooper
Benj: Swett
Owen Jones
Eli Yarnall
David Evans
Silas Downing
Aaron Lancaster
Edwᵈ Stabler
James Moon
Benjamin Swain
Samuel Coope
Allen Farquhar
Joshua Baldwin

John Cowgill
Mark Miller
John Comfort
William Smith
Jnº. Stapler
Francis Wilkinson
Thoˢ Hoopes, Junʳ
Giles Knight, Junʳ
Isaac Massey
Joshua Bunting
James Dugh
William Rogers
James Smith
Christopher Hollingsworth
Joseph Bringhurst,
Joseph Hawley
John Berry
Thoˢ Smedley Jʳ
James Emlen
James Whitall, Juʳ
William Cooper
Benjamin Linton
Thomas Pearson
Owen Hughes
Daniel Sharpless
Jnº Birchall
Abner Rogers
Thoˢ Swayne
Benjã. Hamton
Solomon Miller
Mordˡ Churchman
Caleb Kimber
John Stapler, Juʳ
Wm. Wilson
Thompson Parker
Miers Fisher
Abʳᵐ Griffith
John Milhous
Thomas Matthews

Joseph Janney
Nathan Garrett
Ezˡ Cowgill
Joseph Townsend
Samuel Trimble
William Griscom
Jonathan Wright
Thomas Evans
Enoch Wickersham
Jacob Swayne
William Webster
John Lynn
Isaac Coats
Richard Strode
Jonas Cattell
Joshua Hunt
Caleb Pennock
Danˡ Drinker
Wᵐ Fell
Wᵐ Dixon
William Richardson
Nathan Wright
William Iddings
John Parry
William Stevenson
Enoch Gray
Amos Harvey
Joshua Dennock
Richard Brown
Josiah Bunting
Job Whitall
John Gracy
Joel Chesshir
Morris Truman
Isaac Wilson
David Moore
Thomas Follett
Samuel Haines
William Savery
Henry Cowgill

[1] See page 181 *ante*. Names queried are doubtful readings.

John Hough
Joshua John
Thos Say.
Benjamin Mason
James Starr
Saml Hopkins
John Tatum
Jonathan Kirkbride
Thomas Conarroe, Senr.
Joseph Pennock
John Parker
Richard Barnard
Thomas Redman
Jos. Steer Junr
Jacob Starr
Hugh Webster
Jacob Way
Sam : Shinn
Richard Bartlett
Caleb Moris
Townsend Thomas
Wm Downing
Moses Coates
Jno. Flower
Joseph Moore
David Ridgway
James Iddings
James Griffitts
John Beale
Elisha Kirk
Wm Penrose
Samuel Smith
Mahlon Janney
David Hall
Saml White
Joseph Peirce
Aaron Paxson
Thos. Evans
Peter Yarnall
Saml Gummere
Thomas Walmsley
William Roberts
Mord : Moore
Griffith Minshall
Refine Weekes
Benjamin Hough
Israel Thompson
Saml Allinson

John Humphreys
Samuel Bunting
Philip Price
Robert Verrel
Mordecai Lee
Saml Wetherill
Aaron Smith
Saml Starr
Daniel Thompson
John Collins
Jonathan Brown
Abraham Hibberd
Robert French
Abraham Worinton
Dugald Cameron
Isaac Bonsall
Samuel Hampton
Joseph Stackhouse
John Child
Zachariah Jess
Samuel Miller
James Tyson
Benjamin Test
Joseph Richardson
Jehu Hollingsworth
Jacob Worley, pr order
George Haworth
James Smith Jr
Joseph Clark
John Talbot
Joseph Warrington
John Hunt
William Doughty
Henry Hayes
Ezra Comfort
William Miller
John Eves
Caleb Attmore
John Lypton
Aaron Wills
Isaac Clarke
John Butler
Edmund Prior
James Bringhurst
Thomas Farquhar
Joseph West
Joseph Lukens
Saml Clark
Thomas Fisher

Benedict Dorsey
Joseph Potts
Saml Garrigues
Ja Gibbons
Isaac Larkin
Joseph Brinton
John Field
John Lewden
David Bacon
Thomas Hough
John Townsend
Gideon Middleton
John Gilbert
Geo: Ashbridge
Saml Brown
John Roberts
Robert Kirkbride
Jos: Pickering
David Hoopes
Richard Poynter
Caleb Haines
Wm Hallowell junr
Thos Attmore
Phins Buckley
James Whiteall
Jonn Wright
Robert Rogers
Jeffrey Smedley
Lucas Gibbs
Griffith John
Philip Price, junr
John Ferree (Ferrel ?)
Thomas Rogers
Amos Willets
John James
John Simpson
Henry Cliffton
Aaron Oakford
Samuel Hutton
Norris Jones
Caleb Harlan
Nathan Robbins
David Cumming
Saml Pleasants
Benj. Hornor
Wm Ellis
Jonathan Shoemaker
John Hilliar
Joseph Davies

Constantine Lord
Rumford Dawes
Thomas Paxson
Robert Evans
Cowperthwaite Copland
William Sansom
Arthur Howell
Caleb Kirk
Isaac Thomas
Daniel Longstreth
John Forman
Daniel Dickenson
Samuel Cookson
Simes Betts
Joseph Budd
Richard Jones
Jacob Lundy, junr
Gabriel Willson
Thos Watson
John Horne
James Starr
John Letchworth
Edward Darnel
Jesse Haines
Isaiah Kirk
Saml Richards
John Parrish
Enoch Evans
James Cresson
John Hutton
John Pugh
George Martin
John Satterthwait
Joshua Gibbs
Thos Hallowell
Jos: Russell
John Todd
Thomas Shoemaker
Jacob Maule
Caleb Foulke
Joshua Howell
John Morton
Charles West
Edward Bradway
Saml Simpson
Thomas Pim
Jacob Shoemaker
Edward Jones

Harmon Updegraff
Bernard Taylor
Thomas Carey
Thomas Stapler
John Peirce
John Laing
Edward Jones
Samuel Canby
Samuel Hedger
Aaron Clayton
Thomas Fisher
Thomas Bellanger
W. Linton
Vincent Leeds
Richard Price
Thomas Massey, Jnr
Ebenezer Robinson
Andw McKay
Joseph Roberts
John Collins
Danl Offley
Barthe Mather
Isaac Jacobs
Christopher Dingle
Daniel Leeds
Joshua Sharples
Samuel Darnel
Jos: Sharpless
Wm Jefferis
Jesse Waterman
William Cliffton
Saml Middleton
Joseph James
John Roberts
Joshua Cresson
John Balderston
Philip Dennis
Ephraim Parvin
Henry Drinker
Silas Walmsley
John Ellis
Willm Hartshorne
Jos: Ridgway
Peter Hatton
John Scarlet
Jonath: Pickering
John Wright
Cadwalader Jones
Owen Biddle

Edward Bonsall
Moses Moon
Thomas Rogers, junr
Lewis Darnel
Isaac Cadwallader
Benjamin Kite
Thomas Stokes
William Atkinson
Saml Howell
Henry Shaw
Chas Dingee
Ezekiel Cleaver
Richd Humphreys
John Smith
Amos Taylor
Isaac Webster
Edward Moore
Abijah Dawes
Joshua Way
Benjamin Humphreys, pr order.
John Carpenter
James Painter
William Cooper, Junr
Devenport Marot
Joseph Vanlaw
William Hoopes
Thomas Brown
Richard Goodwin
Cheyney Jefferis
John Hirst
John Elliott, junr
Joseph Jenkins
Wm Jackson, Junr
John Drinker
Robt Wood
Jos: Shotwell, junr
Benjamin Cathrall
Caleb Seal
Daniel Britt
Pierce Lamb
David Allen
John Evans
William Otley
John Hunt, Jnr
Dell Pennell
Saml Updegraff
Hugh Ely
Jacob Shoemaker, junr

Henry Brotherton
James Thornton, junior
John Rively
Abel James, junr
Ellis Cleaver
Joseph Ball
Josiah Furman
Amos Yarnall
John Guest
Jacob Chestnutwood
Robert Moore
William Garrigues
Edward Garrigues
Thos: Franklin
Ebenezer Maule
Raper Hoskins
Jeremiah Bernard, junr
John Forsythe
Jonathan Dawes
Thos: Sharpless
Humy Marshall
Jonathan Gibbs
Thomas Clifford
Gerard Blackford, Junr
Benj. Clarke
William Letchworth
Jonathan Worril
Robt Lewis
Caleb Lownes
John Duncan
Evan Lewis
John Haworth
Peter Ellis
Thomas Fearnley
Edmund Hollinshead
Richard Wells
Isaac Wharton
Nathan Sharpless
Thomas Speakman
Isaac James
William Folwell
Joseph Burrough
Zachariah Stirredge
Cornell Stevenson
Thomas Trotter
Job Haines
Robert Thomas
John Franklin
Nathan Lewis
Henry Reynolds
Thomas Roger, Junr
Thos: Sugar
William Ridgway
Isaac Wright
Joseph Talbot
Isaac Paxson
David Hilles
John Todd, Jr
Abiah Coope
Cleayton Newbold
Abel Walker
Geo : Bowne
Joshua Lamb
Joseph Richardson, Junr
John Haydock
Johns Hopkins
John Morris, Junr
Thos: Harrison
Samuel Taylor
John Webb
Nathan Jones
John Howell
Wm Waring
John Jackson
George Moore
Israel Roberts
George Williams
Daniel Lamb
Jacob Tomkins
William Lownes
James Jones, Jnr
Wm Brewer
Thomas Hall
Moses Cadwalader
Wm Brown
Daniel Ballinger
Wm Starr
Elijah Field
Saml Rhoads
Samuel Briggs
Thomas Parker
Joel Sharples
John Robeson
Isaac Borton
Samuel Hicks
James Worstall
Robert White
John Baily
Bleakston Janney
Evan Evans
Thomas George
Anthony Poultney
Hezekiah Bates
John Maule
Oliver Paxson
Daniel Mifflin
Daniel Dawson
Jacob Parke
Wm Lippincott
Wm Atkinson
John Oldden
Ellis Yarnall
Elias Ring
William Coale
Joshua Yarnall
Jonas Potts
Nathan Williams
Philip Marot
Daniel Trotter
Yeamans Gillingham
Charles West, Junr
Nathan Littler
Jesse Milhous

APPENDIX III

SIGNERS OF THE PHILADELPHIA ADDRESS TO CONGRESS[1]

Peter Summers
Charles Cooper
T. Matlack
Peter Whiteside
Edward Stiles
Dan Clymer
Robert Roberts
Gº Bickham
Georg Schiller
Joseph Gray
Isaac Hazlehurst
John Barclay
Thoˢ Willing
Cad: Morris
Peter Webster
Tench Francis
James Hood
Michael Morgan O'Brien
John McKim
Abra Markoe
Geo. Haynes
Mordecai Lewis
Alexʳ Boyd Majʳ
John Taggart
Joseph Anthony
Josiah Hewes
John Fromberger
Mark Willcox
Patᵏ. Byrne
Wood Hopkins
J. Swanwick
James Newport
Haym Salomon
Jnº Loehmann
James Gallager
Lewis Farmer
Wᵐ. Sellers
Will: Adcock

James Read
Samˡ Wetherell, Juʳ.
Wᵐ L. Blair
Adᵐ Clampffer
Jos. Pennell
Jacob Barge
Jacob Graff
George Nelson
Wᵐ. Sheaff
Henry Keppele
Henry Helmuth
Wᵐ Pollard
Thoˢ Pryor
Richd. Footman
Z: (?) Geo. Meade
John Richard, Junʳ
John Morrell
Jasper Moylan
Sol Marache
Jonas Phillips
Charles Risk
John Duz- (blot illegible)
A. Bunner
John Steinmetz
John D. Coxe
Plunᵗ. Fleison
John Jones
Alexʳ Carlyle
Thoˢ. Palmer
Wᵐ Wood
Adam Foulke
Michael Kimmell
Charles Charmbarling
Francis Bailey
John Keble
John Barker
Jacob Esler
William Moulder

Thoˢ Nevell
John Weaver
William Marshall
Hugh Martin
Benj Snell
James Thompson
John Richardson
Joseph Kendall
John Pringle
Casper Singer
Isaac Whelen
Edw Price
Jonⁿ. Helm
John L. Clarkson
Caleb Bickham
John Armstrong
Jnº Webb Checkley
Robᵗ Bridges
James Mease
John Whitehead
Danˡ: Topham
John Woodward
John Young
Geo: Simpson
Gustavus Risberg
Stephen Maxfield
Samˡ Hodgson
Jacob Plankinhorn
Jehospᵗ Polk
John Carter
John Sellers
James Vanuxem
Sampson Harvey
Robert Taggart
Franˢ Gurney
Francis Lee
Solomon McNair
George Whelpper
William Kenley

[1] See page 87 *ante*. Names queried are doubtful readings.

Jacob L. Sergler
Josiah Matlack
George Duffield
Larazett Maller
John Patton
Wm Hall
John Craig
Jas Craig, jur
William Forbes
William Graham
Jas Cuming
William Bell
Saml. Nicholas
John Perot
Wm Turnbull
Robert Smith
John Hazelwood
Dean Timmons
Robt Barnhill
Hy Hancock
Js B. Nickolls
Antoni Froen (?)
John Wilson
John Brown, Junr
Henry Miller
Joseph Stamper
Elias Boys
Thos: Franklin
J. Ross
Tho. Turner
Samuel Powel
Michael Caner
Wm Eckhart
Robt Turner
Archd M: Sparrow
Matt: Henderson
Mayburry Jolly
Dd Porter
Thos Shortall
John Dugan
Richard Sweetman
John Rudolph
John Mease
Saml. Read
Jos. Few
Jos. Wharton
Wm Gray
David H. Conyngham
Saml Caldwell
William Thorp

Wm Allison
Will: Miller
John Caldwell
J. Bleakley
Saml. C. Morris
Philip Benezet
Francis Feariss
William Semple
Richard Mason
James Dunlap
John Pyle
Joseph Parkes
Charles Knarij
George Strayly
Martin Gaul
Christian Darnder (?)
Jno M'Farlane
Peter Lohra
Nn. Jones
John Keith
Wm Carron
Robert Smith
David Seckel
John Craig
William Richard
George Reinhart
Henry Seckel
Cornelius Barnes
Wm Shippen
Peter Knight
William Matlack
Z. Lenaigre
Chas Syng
James White
Jacob Swem
John Leamy
James Cottinger
Cornels Comegys
Thomas O'Hara
Garrett Cottringer
Thos Smith
Christopher Byerly
Peter Lex
Geo : Ingels
Jb Hiltzheimer
Reuben Haines
George Kitts Junior
Jacob Kitts
Charles Stultz
Saml Powel

Thos Stanes
John Harrison
Robt McGee
Peter Simletter
Christian Beackley
John Smith
Joseph Rakestraw
Charles Wm Nushag
Rob Erwin
David Sellers
Georg David Seckel
Nn Sellers
Michael Gunckel
Jacob Miller
Lewis Billing
James Hutchinson
John Phile
John Graff
Saml Miles
Geo : Aston
Robert Davidson
Israel Whiten
Jacob S. Howell
Adam Zantzinger
Willm Wister
William Keppele
James McCutchon
John McCutchon
Alexr Russell
Wm Henderson
G Henderson
L. Karcher
Martain Boreaff
Michael Kitts
John Everhart
Wm Govett
Wm Nichols
Joseph Stiles
Reynold Keen
John Jones
Henry Callaghan
Laurence Fitzgerald
John Brooks
Nathan Hughes
Mathw Irwin
John McGinley
William Coxe Jun.
Sam. Clarkson
Isaac Warner
Peter Kuhn

James Rowan
Jn Rush Junior
Thos Maxfeld
Edward Pole
Saml Jackson
William Shaw
Andy Ten Eick
David Uber
Christoffer Kains
Benja Harbeson
William Lamb
Joseph Brown
Fred. Phile
John Gartley
James B. Smith
Archd Engles
Edmond Nugent
Nathl Waters
Robt Cumming
William Craig
Thomas Armat
Wm. Hollinshead
Andrew Tybout
John Souder
George Lehman
Edward Randolph
Mathias Bernhard
Henry Deberger
Christopher Baker
Benjn Van Scyoc
Corn. McCaskey
George Leib
Paine Newman
Henry Brusstar
Wm Masters
James Brusstar
Willcox Phillips
Wm Thomas
Jacob Raell
Jacob Weaver
Moses Levy
John Alexander
Mathias Stimble
Peter Jeodon
Wm Clifton
M. Leib
John Porter
Levi Budd
Jon Scholfield

Jacob Van Siver (?)
John Morris
James Bryson
Davd Duncan
John Reaman Jr
Nichs Low
Step: Collins
Matthew Mease
Robt Stephens
Samuel Dellap
Jacob Levering
J. Withy
Wagner & L, Blanc
Dr John Baker
Jos Israel
John Stephens
Caleb Wilkins
Joseph Chay
John Crynen (?)
Jacob Dimand
William Johnson
Antoine Guerin
William Price
Mark Hapeny
John Lyne
Thomas Irwin
John Byrnes
John Martin
Nichs Bernard
John McKinley
Jonathan Draper
James West
Geo Logan
John Cottringer
John Linton
Paul Eszling
James Finley
Robert Cather
Heinrich Avril (?)
James Walsh
John Smith
Hamilton Hazelton
John Woods
S. Lyons
Edward Laskey
Donald McIntosh
Andrew Doz
Mags Miller
Ab: Shoemaker

Wm Wentworth
Samuel Coutts
Wm Keates
Thos Prudden
William Clark
John Brown
Lorenz Schini
Thomas Cuthbert
Jno Green
Henry Dubois
Peter Conor
Charles Cecil
Godfrey Gebler
Erhart Miller
Robt Vanhorn
George Rutter
Elijah Coffing
Eb Hazard
John Lardner
Peter W. Gallaudet
James Morphy
James Hunter
Jos Cowperthwaite
James Ash
Ar. Donaldson
Chas. Willing
William Bell
Matt: McGuire
George Way
William Reddon
John Barrack
Joseph Greenway
Azaria Horton
Jno Burrows
Richd Dennis
Jno. Harper
W. McMurtrie
William Brown
B. Wistar
Jas Milligan
Daniel Eddy
Edwd Lynch
I. Shallurs
John Phillips
Thos Bowen
Wm Brown
John Pollard
Charles Jolly
Hugh Bennett

Norton Pryor
Joseph Johnson
Jos: Stretch
Ed. Bartholomew
Isaac Wynn
Richd. Renshaw
Jon. Fisher
William Jones
Joseph Donaldson, Jun.
Ambrose Simpson
Mat. McConnell
Alexr Fullerton
W: Thomas
Chas W. Peale
James Claypoole
William White
Johnt Phillips
Robt Stevenson
Alexr Foster
Levi Hollingsworth
Stephen Hollingsworth
Rot Caldwell
Samuel Dilworth
Chs McClung
Jno Purviance
Joseph Howell, Jun.
Thos Shields
John Purdon
Wm Lawrence
Jno David
John Ramsay
George Henry
Joseph Prowell
Geo Emlen
Will. Graham
Wm Henderson
Robt Aitken
Jno Miller, jr:
Mercier & Carré
Wm Barton
Jos Abercrombie
Thos Bradford
Richd. Armi
Saml. Inglis
W. P. Stanly
John Chaloner
D. C. Claypoole
James Peale
Israel (?) Rhor
Peter Boos
Simon Miller
Jacob Simpson
Thos. Ross
Joseph Rees
John Salts
Lewis Grant
Ml Hillegas
Sam. Magaw
Geo: Latimer
Wm Rigden
John Nixon
Saml. McLane
John Miller
Edward Fox
John Barnhill
Wm Ralston
Frederick Kuhl
Lambt Witmer
John Lisle
William Smith
John Dunlap
Thomas Francis
Thos. Fitzgerald
Wm Richard Bookseller
W. Shippen, jr.
John Macpherson
Chas. Young
B. Randolph
Blair MClenachan
John. White
Benjn Rush
Jas. Gilchrist
Jacob Schreiner
William Haverstick
Wm Shannon
Geo. Esterly
Willm Budden
Th Bond
Michael Shubart
Davd Rittenhouse
Henry Kammerer
Peter Kraft
Andw Aitken
George A. Baker
Abel James
John Fish
Jacob Brady
Wm Henry
Peter Edenborn
Christian Hawk
Richd Collier
P. E. Du Simitière
Conrad Hanse
Ephraim Bonham
Frans Hopkinson
John Bayard
John Kling
Josh Bindon
Leonard Dorsey
David Evans
William Faries
Jno Nancarrow
David Schaffer, Jur
George Habacker
Jedidiah Snowden
John Biddle
A. Gilchrist
John Barron
Standish Forde
Samuel Sterrup
Thos Roche
George Shaw
George Bickerton
Joseph Fisher
Wm McIlhenney
Benjn Shaw
Alexander Boyle
Lewis Croner
Wm Coats Lect. C. P.
Jacob Morgan, jr.
Thomas Paine
John Robert
Robert Knox, Lt Col
Wm Moore
John Taylor
Joseph Penrose
James McCrea
Isaac Frank
White Matlack
Jno Shee
Benjamin G. Eyre, L.Cl.
Wm. Will, Lt Col
Jos: Dean, Lt Col 6th Battn C. P. M.
Clement Biddle Q M G Militia
John Vannost
C : Clay

W : Clay
Saml Fisher
Benj^{a} Town
Thomas Morgan
John Le Telier
William Williams
Ja^{s} Kinnear
Robert Fitzgerald
Thomas Platt
John Campbell
Andrew Ten Eyck
Charles White
Matthew Duncan
Christo^{r} Seller
John Murdock
Patrick Grogan
Richard Carlton
James Scott
Daniel Dick
Frederick Dick
Chalkley James
R^{d} Byrne
Jos. Carson
Daniel Joy
James Losbothim
Josiah Lockhart
Jesse Greenfield
Thos Humphreys
Isaac Levy
Robert Hiltzheimer
Hasman Senf
Job Mayer
Roger Flahavan
Josiah W. Gibbs
Isaac Jones
J. Rees
Isaac Moses
Saml Lewis Wharton
Jno Hazelwood, jr.
Henry Pratt
Hamilton & Son
Moses Cohen
John Haynes
James Hartley
Ed Williams
Wm Roberts
B. Pittfield
Geo: Mifflin
James Cooper
Robt Paisley
Sam. Wallis
Cadw'^{r} Evans
Wm. Hardy
Arch. Gardner
Michael Dawson
Abraham Collings
William Downs
Paul Cox
John Hartly
Jacob Souder
Isaac Coats, Junr
G. Marcus Young
William Stutzer
Rich. Young
Seymour Hart
Sam. Clayton
John Rinker
Jeremiah Baker
Joseph Rush
Peter Van Galder
Samuel Barns
John Wells
J. Ollivier et Cy
Stephen Geistier
George Strepee
Adam Weaver
Adam Ohl
Saml Clinton
Henry Deforest
John Sutton
Thomas Vaughan
James Harries (?)
Isaac White
Wm Coats
John Pearce
John Taylor
Hans Hamilton
Thomas Hopkins
John Brouwer
Hugh Henry
Eli Canby
Dan. Tyson
Ja^{s} Wharton
C. P. Raguett
Josh. Plowman
James Mullen
Peter Dick
John Fullerton
William Hassall
John Beck
Saml Corry
Bryan O'Hara
Walt Hall
Matthew Lawler
Henry W. Physick
John Houck
John Wall
Robt Cocks
Benjamin Evans
Ad^{m} Hubley
Fran^{s} Wady
Stephen Austin & Co.
Robt McClenachan
Caleb Ash
Saml Young
Thomas Rice
Daniel O'Neaill
Jacob Bright
Isaac Eyre
Robt Jones
Dennis Dougherty
Roger Flahavan Junr
John Smith
William Griffiths
James Miller
William Morrell
George Evans
Jos. Morris
Assheton Humphreys
Saml Wharton
Edwd Shippen
Ferdinand Farmer
Robert Molyneux
Thos Stretch
Jacob Duché
Jos. Wilson
Jere^{ah} Warder Parker & Co^{y}
Jehu Eldredge
William Geisse
Cartwright, Allenby & Wightman
Allen Ridgway
John Oldden
William Kerlin
Dan. King
Jacob Hinkler
John J Bogert

David M:Cullough
Richd Willing
John Francis
Eph: Blaine
John Wharton
Andw Carson
Wm Cavenough
Alexr Tod
James Byrne
Isaac Wikoff
John Cox
James Roney
James Champnis
Frd Kinsell
Benjn January
Joseph Bispham
Nathan Boys
Wm Woodhouse
Robert Patton
David Patton
Richard Barry
Jan Jacob Sluyter
Temple Harris
Edmd. Milne
Thomas Holmes
Thos Milne
Henry Land
Jno. Alexander
Tobias Barrett
Joseph Baker
Hugh Hodg
Frdk Christian
Samuel Meeker
Robt Mullan
E Murray
Fred. Seckel
William Trotter
Wm Sheed
Andw Epple
Benjn Betterton
Philip Odenheimer
Peter Shreiber
Joseph Master
Charles Heinitsh
Philip Hall
Alexander Power
Peter Wiltberger
Archibald Shaw
Thomas Boyd

Isaac Connely
Peter Drais
John Wager
John Foster
Daniel Craig
John Shearman
George Sing
Walter Baker
William Dellap
Frederick Meyer
Wm Harris
Wm Davey
Martin Will
Martin Lodwick
Edwd Hanlon
Georg Kier
Chas. Bouman
George Walker
Conrad Hoff
Rudh Nagel
Michael Boyer
Adam Schuster
John Grant
Burton Wallace
Saml M. Fox
Luke Morris
Chas Humphreys
John Rudke
Wm Wharton
Thomas Bradley
Andrew Grebel
Friedrich Schredell (?)
William Turner
George Heyl
John Davison
Andrew Way
Will Parr
James Richardson
Christean Dishong
Patrick Wright
Cadr Dickinson
Richd Phillips
John Winkerer
Jacob Gascend
John Aitken
Hugh Frazer
William Kinnan
William Swanson
Daniel Edwards

John James
Conrad Hister
Chrhr Wirtz, Jr.
James H. Low
Emanuel Priest
Luke Keating
Timy Sloan
Philip Stein
Thoms Leaming, Junr
Saml Penrose
Jeremiah Barker
John Campbell, Jur
Solomon McNair
Ben Gibbs
Garland Thompson
Thomas Falconer
Jos: Nourse
Pat Ferrall
John C. Kunze
Guilliam Aertsen
Jno Henderson
George Schlosser
Joseph Spencer
Danl Udree
Philip Heyl
Chas Seitz
Philip Wager
John Linington
Samuel Libe
Alexander Robertson
James Craig
Samuel Keln
William Oliphant
Elihu Bissel
John Richards
Philip Clambel (?)
George Haas
Sharp Delany
Jonan Mifflin
Andw. Hodge, Senr
Jno Mifflin
John Dorsey, junr.
Hugh De Haven
Jno Nicholson
G. Evans
Chas Vanderen
Adam Melcher
Charles Drum (?)
Christian Wirtz

William Wirtz
Samuel Slayter
Will[m] Allibone
John Mason Uphold[r]
George Seitz
Archibald Gamble
R[d] Patterson

J[o] Wigton
Jas. Wilkinson Adjt. & Brigadier general of the State.
John McLaughlin
Rob[t] Crozier
John Carrell

Leonard Stoneburner
J. D. Blanchard
George Ozeas
Benj[a] Davis, Jun[r]
Zacch : Collins
And[w] Kennedy

APPENDIX IV

BOUDINOT-WREN CORRESPONDENCE[1]

No. I.[2]

PRINCETON Novr 1783

Sir

Your Humanity & kindness to our helpless & distressed Citizens, who by the fortune of War, were thrown into the Power of their Enemies, and within your reach, have been made known to the united States of America in Congress assembled — I am honored by their Commands, to return you their united Thanks for the repeated acts of Benevolence & Humanity shewn by you to their unfortunate & oppressed Citizens who were prisoners at Portsmouth during the late War —

This part of my Duty gives me great Pleasure as the highest satisfaction next to doing humane & benevolent Actions ourselves is the testifying our gratitude to those from whom we receive them — I have the honour of enclosing a Copy of the Act of Congress of the 29th Septr last by which the Sense of your goodness will more clearly appear than by any Expression of mine —

It adds Sir to my Happiness on this Occasion to enclose a Diploma from the University in this place of which I have the honour of being a Trustee, conferring on you the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which I hope you will favour us with the acceptance of as an additional Evidence of the respect of this grateful Country —

I have the Honour &c

The Revd Dr Wren
Portsmouth

No. II.[3]

PORTSMOUTH 12th February 1784.

Honourable Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your very obliging letter of the 1st of November last, which encloses a Vote of Thanks of The Honourable the Congress of the United States of America, and a Diploma of Doctor in Divinity from the College of New Jersey.

The Sentiments which you are pleased to express on this occasion, assure me, Sir, that I may take the liberty to request, that you will present to the Honourable Congress, in a better manner than I am able to do, my most grateful acknowledgements for the distinguished honour they have done me. I receive this testimony of their approbation with

[1] See page 157 *ante*.

[2] Boudinot Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Society. The letter itself, of which the above is a draft, was dated November 1st.

[3] Princeton Collection, Library of Princeton University. The enclosure has not been preserved.

the highest sense of their condescending and generous regards. It is the pure result of their own goodness ; For tho' I am ever determined to do every thing in my power for the relief of their captives, yet were not my efforts equal to my wishes. All possible assistance to men suffering so deeply, and in such a cause, appeared to me to be, in the strictest sense, my duty. And as the impulse of that humanity which I feel, the attachment to that liberty which I adore, and the desire of succouring oppressed innocence, never obtained full gratification ; I am the more affected by the acknowledgement of that Honourable body over which you preside. Their Vote of Thanks to me, also acquires additional value, as it is the Act of men who had spirit equal to the defence of their rights, and perseverance sufficient for the emancipation of their country. Such honours no other men can confer. Such honours no other men possess.

I pray the honour of you Sir to convey the enclosed to the President of the College at Princeton. And permit me Sir to add that I esteem myself greatly obliged by the very polite and friendly manner in which you have communicated to me these high and undeserved regards of your country.

May the country, Sir, be the Seat of freedom, the region of virtue and prosperity, and the asylum of the oppressed for ever.

With sincere respect and esteem
I have the honour to be
Honourable Sir
your very obliged
and humble Servant
THOMAS WREN

To The Honourable Elias Boudinot Esq —

APPENDIX V

ORATIONS DELIVERED BEFORE CONGRESS AT COMMENCEMENT 1783

No. I. Grammar Scholar's Oration[1]

The following is a copy of an Oration delivered by one of the young Gentlemen at the late commencement at Princeton.

Addressing so respectable an audience as I now see before me, I, who have not been accustomed to any public appearance, must feel a great degree of diffidence; and do therefore request, that while your attention is directed to a subject very important to human virtue and happiness, you will bear with indulgence, the very imperfect nature of the few hints I shall take the liberty to submit upon it.

Notwithstanding the ingenious attempts which have been made by Rousseau and others, to prove that the progress of learning and science has tended to the diminution of human happiness; I begin already, from my own feelings and experience, to be able to controvert all their fine-spun reasoning. Even at my early period of life, it is surely proper to look into myself, to consider attentively the nature of those powers and faculties with which I am endowed, and the comparative quality of that pleasure or happiness of which the different faculties of my nature are susceptible. If man, like the other animals, had no other wants to supply than the mere cravings of sense, and if he was capable of no other enjoyments than what can be derived from the indulgence of animal appetites, it would certainly be right and proper to direct all his attention to the pursuit of such objects as are best fitted to convey that kind of pleasure; but being endowed with powers of mind, susceptible of pleasure and pain in a much higher degree than the senses of animal nature, it is surely wisest and best for a man to pay a superior regard to the cultivation and improvement of his mental powers. From the constitution of our nature, it happens, that in proportion as the mind is employed in the acquisition of useful knowledge, its faculties are enlarged and envigorated; and the conscious feeling of that progressive improvement of the best part of our nature, must be a source of the most genuine pleasure. Besides, as the spirit of patriotism, or in other words, the spirit of benevolence, has by the universal concurrence of mankind, been held in the highest esteem, it should certainly induce the most ardent application to such studies and pursuits as may enable us most effectually to do service to mankind and to our country. Entertaining these sentiments, I feel myself happy in the prospect of entering to the college of New-Jersey; an institution which does the greatest honor to its founders, and to the state, and the beneficial effects of which have been

[1] From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 9, 1783.

felt over the greater part of this extensive continent. Many who now hear me, will always think with gratitude of this literary establishment, who, by being led here to examine with critical attention, the heroic characters and virtues exhibited in classical antiquity, have had their minds fixed with the most laudable emulation, and gladly embraced the great opportunity which lately offered for distinguishing themselves in the field and in the senate, as able and zealous defenders of the dearest interests of mankind and of their country. While I feel a degree of regret that I did not come into the world early enough to bear an active part in this glorious revolution, I have abundant reason to be thankful to Providence, that an opportunity is now afforded to me of receiving such instructions, and of having my mind formed upon such principles of public and private virtue, as may render me still an useful member of the state, and capable of contributing to the welfare of my country ; a country now rendered worthy of the most steady and zealous exertions in its favor by every liberal and benevolent mind. I bless God, too, that while I shall be employed in examining the various opinions of philosophers respecting those qualities which constitute true greatness, I live at a time and in a country where I have the honor and hope to feel the advantage of seeing exhibited in one character, a living example of them all. — I will not attempt his praise. — His superior worth is acknowledged over all the world ; it is deeply felt in the hearts of his fellow citizens, and will, I trust, not only continue to inspire the most grateful recollection of his inestimable services, but also to inspire some portion of the same spirit of true patriotism, that has excited those glorious efforts which, by the blessing of Providence have effectuated the political salvation of this happy country. Living at such a time, and in such circumstances, what noble inducements have we, my fellow students, to prosecute with ardour the studies which may enable us to understand the nature and value of those rights which have been purchased for us by the toils, the labors, the blood of our countrymen. They shall transmit to us a legacy whose price cannot be computed, and whose value is equally inestimable. — God forbid then, that we should be insensible of its worth, inattentive of its preservation, or unqualified for maintaining it with that tenderness and dignity which its nature requires. — May we never forget that those great qualities which have been so eminently useful in promoting the success of the late glorious contest, were not acquired on the bed of sloth, or in the lap of luxurious pleasures ; but by that manly resolution, firmness of mind, and unremitting industry, without which nothing truly great or noble can be acquired or achieved by man. Having such examples before us, how disgraceful would it be not to feel their influence, to emulate their greatness, and to aspire with the most careful anxiety to qualify ourselves for maintaining that dignity of character to which our country is justly raised among the nations of the world.

No. II. Valedictory Oration of Ashbel Green.[1]

On me has devolved the difficult, melancholy office of closing the exercises of the day, and of bidding adieu to these pleasurable abodes of

[1] New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, 3d Series, Vol. 1, p. 124 *et seq.*

science. The office is difficult because I shall want words to express our obligations to those fathers of science and virtue, under whose care and guardianship we have been placed. It is melancholy because that care and guardianship are now to be no more. Among the many tender ties of attachment that engage our hearts, perhaps there are none of a more delicate texture than that which we formed in the pursuit of knowledge. Such an attachment is founded on the clearest principles of reason; it is cemented by refined pleasure and advantage; and when necessity calls for a separation, it is not easy to reconcile the mind to part with so dear an acquisition. At such a time the images of past pleasure crowd thick about the heart; and fancy, ever busy in works of the pencil, does not fail to paint them strongly on the feeling mind. Indulge us then, for a moment, while we trace over those scenes of enjoyment which afforded us so much satisfaction when we were passing through them, and the recollection of which must ever engage and delight our hearts. Here the tender thought has been nursed to virtue; here the buds of genius have been taught to expand; here the first dawnings of mental excellence have been cherished and encouraged; here the great examples of antiquity have been laid before us. "Learn to imitate the virtues of this man, says the careful teacher, but beware of his vices. This action was heroic, but ambition, we fear, was its only motive. Here this philosopher excelled, but there he pushed his virtue to excess. Let the example of this sage teach you resignation to the will of heaven, and learn by that to love your country. See here the fatal end of too great ambition, and be convinced, by the example of him who has tried it, that had you the world you would weep for another. Here you view the effects of diligence and perseverance; and if you envy the fame of the man you must imitate his example." Thus the pages of classic lore are passed over. The fire of emulation seizes the breast of the youth, and he is pained with a generous fear of being excelled. But now a new scene is opened — the mind is called off from dwelling wholly on the beauties of the poet and the eloquence of the orator and the historian, to the closeness of demonstrative science. By this it is prepared to search into the wonders of nature, to trace them to their causes, and to look through them up to nature's God. Then the principles of morals are imbibed. The youthful mind is taught to look into its capacity, its qualities and its powers, and to reason from them to the being and attributes of their Creator, and thence to deduce the nature and sanction of the moral law. Hence the rights of men are derived, either as individuals or societies. We view mankind as the subjects of one great lawgiver; as the children of one common father, and we acquire the principles of universal justice and benevolence. Once more the scene is changed. The beauties of language and polite literature are laid before us. We are prompted to imitate them. The attempt is made, the hand of matured knowledge and experience prunes away the extravagance of youthful fancy, and, pointing to the examples of others, excites us to excell. Then the first essays of the infant-muse are offered to the indulgence of a public audience, and the mind looks forward with pleasure to the period when the honors of the place of our education shall be conferred on us. The time is at length arrived. But whether shall we say that our joy or sorrow the more preponderates? We

rejoice in having the favorable testimony of such characters as the worthy and honored trustees of Nassau Hall to introduce us to the world, but we tremble at the prospect of being deprived of their patronage and direction. Yes, honored gentlemen, it is with the deepest feelings of regret that we view ourselves separated from a place which claims you as its guardians. Never shall we find such another retreat, and in vain shall we look for such protectors. Who, alas, will guide our unexperienced minds amidst the flattering allurements of vice and folly? Who will direct our untried footsteps in the giddy paths of youth? To the care of a kind and watchful Providence, and the influence of your prayers, we look for safety. Deny us not this last our most important request, but beseech the Supreme Disposer of all Events to guard us from every evil and from every folly, and to dispose us to act in such a manner as to be an honor to the place of our education and a blessing to the world. Penetrated with the most lively sentiments of gratitude and respect for the care and attention you have ever exercised over this institution, and for the honors of it which you have been pleased to confer upon us, with the fondest hopes that you may see it reward your labors, and with the most affectionate wishes for your highest happiness and prosperity, we bid you a hearty farewell.

Reverend and honored Sir, to you next, and to the worthy faculty of the college, it becomes us to pay our humble tribute of warm and unfeigned thanks for the diligence, care and tender regard with which you have acted toward us during the whole of the time that we have been under your direction. Be assured that we esteem it among the happiest circumstances of our lives that the forming of our young minds, and laying a foundation for our future prospects in life, have been under your auspicious care. And if we have had any success in exploring the pleasing past of science, if we have treasured up any useful or ornamental knowledge, if we have any flattering hopes of answering the expectations of those who placed us here, to you we are indebted for those invaluable acquisitions. And should we be so happy as to meet the plaudit of indulgent or partial friends, we would catch it as it rises, and, with grateful hearts, bowing, present it to you. It is your tribute, and though the offering be but small, you will permit us to place it to the account where it is so justly due. We are now to be separated from your protection and from each other. A few moments hence we must take a long, perhaps the last, farewell view of yonder consecrated edifice, where we have so often heard the words of instruction, of wisdom, and of piety, fall from your lips. No more can your protection guard us, no more your lips instruct us. What have I said? I recall the ungrateful sentence; your protection shall ever guard us, your lips shall ever instruct us. We will keep in the closest recesses of our hearts your wise admonitions. We will fix deep in our remembrance this last parting advice which you have bestowed on us. Those shall be our protection, this shall be our instruction. With these assurances, and with hearts of gratitude too great for expression, we ask your prayers, we must bid you a cordial, though to us it be a sad, farewell.

Fellow graduates, if I have failed in doing justice to your feelings, to our governors and teachers, forgive me; the task was too arduous for my feeble tongue. But we, too, must part. To-morrow's sun will view

us separated from these pleasant, peaceful walks of science, and from each other. What shall I say? Shall I attempt to describe the pleasures of our union or the solemnity of our separation? I shall not attempt it. The one is already written on our hearts, and expression will not reach the other. To drop the tear of regret when we view these sacred walls rising from the ruins of tyrant cruelty, when we see our alma mater recovering from the wounds which the savage hand of war had inflicted on her, when we see the august council of this rising empire honoring the place of our education, to drop the tear of regret at such a time may, perhaps, to an indifferent spectator, appear preposterous. But alas! these are the circumstances that point the arrows of sorrow that wound our hearts. We are to be torn from these flattering prospects when they are but beginning to dawn. Farewell, ye pleasing scenes, thou delightful place of our youthful studies, seat of the muses, how shall we express it? A long, perhaps a final adieu? And you, too, ye dearest companions, with whom I have traveled the field of science, with whom I I have so often spent the joyous hour, when the muse smiled upon us, time has now come — we must bid each other the affectionate farewell.

Students of Nassau Hall, the ties of friendship can no longer prevent our separation. Duty calls, necessity obliges us, and we must part. To you we leave the pleasing enjoyment to crop the fairest flowers of knowledge, and to drink at the stream of science and of virtue. And oh! beware how you treat the invaluable privilege. We mean not to reproach you with insensibility, but seen from the point where we stand, your advantages appear of uncommon magnitude. We have experienced them, and they are now flying from us, we see them in heir brightest lustre. Let it, then, be engraven on your hearts, that intterest advises and duty demands, your strictest obedience and most cheerful attention to the salutary counsels and instructions of the officers of the college. It is their due; it is the reward of their care and anxiety for your welfare; and forbid it gratitude; forbid it every noble and manly sentiment; forbid the thought of depriving them of so just a recompense. And oh! in some happy moment, when drinking at the pierian spring, ye view the genius of Nassau Hall laving herself in the limpid fountain, tell her that we, her sons, have not forgotten her; tell her that we will ever be guided by the influence of her precepts; that we will ever pray for her prosperity. Fain would we dwell on her beauties, but we must bid both her and you a sincere farewell.

Illustrious Senators of America! Pardon the extravagance of youth, if love and affection have for once destroyed the order of strict propriety. It is not for want of the highest deference and veneration for your characters, but because our hearts were too full, that we have not before now expressed the deep sense we entertain of the honor conferred upon us by your presence. To leave the affairs of nations to attend on the essays of inexperienced youth, how great the change, how great the condescension. But to countenance science, even in its humble walks, to protect and honor literature, has been the employment of great and wise legislators. Neither are they personally unconcerned in such a business. The muse, cherished by them, has recorded their actions, or sung their praise, in lines more durable than the sculptured stone, the carved brass or the towering pyramid. Nor shall such be wanting to you. The

faithful historian, some American Livy or Robertson, shall tell to ages yet unborn, the deeds of those patriots whose virtue, wisdom and perseverance, procured the blessings which they enjoyed ; and as wise, virtuous and firm as the American Congress shall be a compliment to the legislators of futurity. Nor in that day, illustrious and magnanimous chief, shall thy actions and thy exploits be unrecorded. Some future bard, whom all the muses love — oh, that it might be some happy son of Nassau Hall, shall tell in all the majesty of epic song, the man whose prudent conduct, and whose gallant sword, taught the tyrants of the earth to fear oppression, and opened an asylum for the virtuous, and free to all the world. But, adventurous bard, whoever thou art, beware ! Leave poetic fiction and ornament to those whose themes require it ; the greatest panegyric of my hero in his true character.

We cannot conclude without expressing our obligations to this audience, for having now, and so often heretofore, honored us with their attention ; and, prompted by this indulgence to our first essays, we will carefully aim at producing something that shall better deserve the attention of the public.

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF PRINCIPAL SOURCES AND AUTHORITIES

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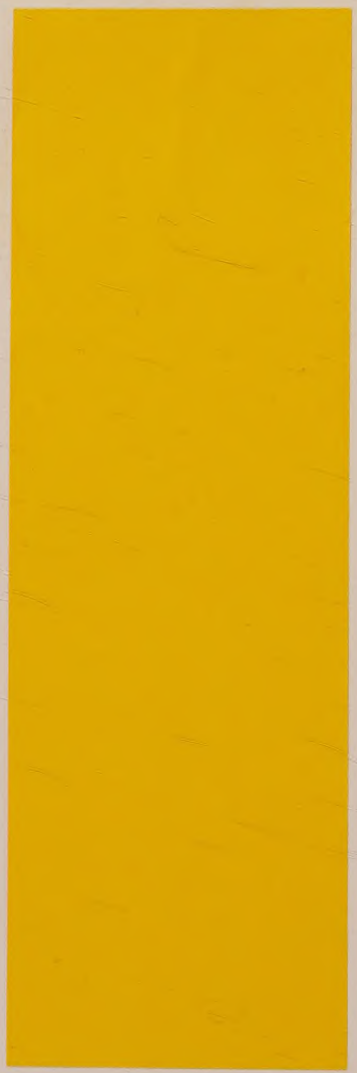

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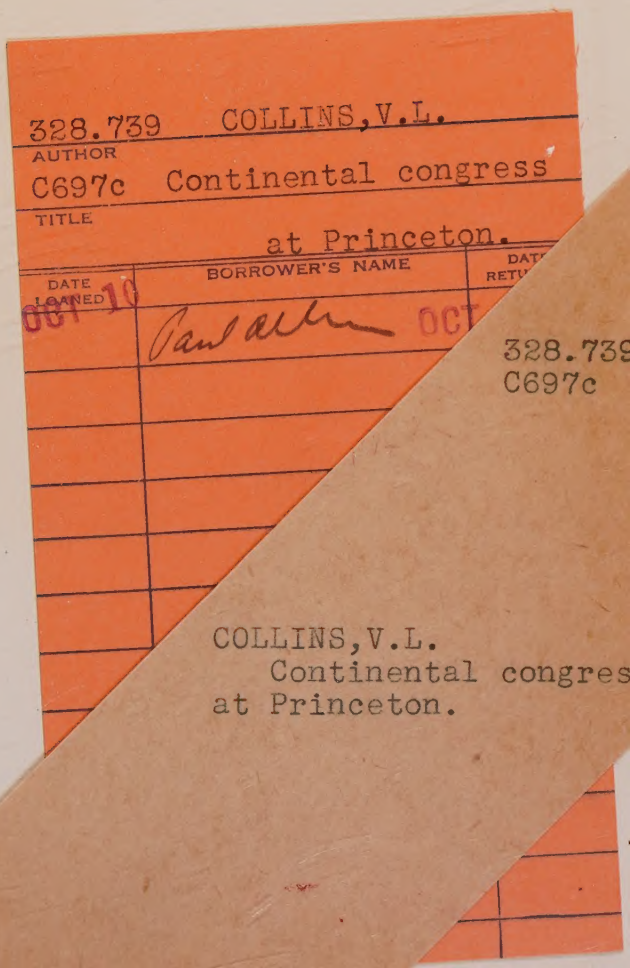
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